

# THE ENGLISH CIVIL WAR MINTS AT TRURO AND EXETER, 1642–1646

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THE mints operated during the Civil War by Sir Richard Vyvyan on behalf of the royalist party have been the subject of two substantial studies, by the historian Mary Coate and by the numismatist R.C. Lockett, and of several shorter contributions since.<sup>1</sup> The Coate and Lockett papers both appeared before the last war, so a new look at the evidence is perhaps appropriate, and was precipitated by an invitation to participate in a series of lectures in Exeter in July 1992. In studying Vyvyan's coinage afresh, I have attempted to bring together both the documentary and the numismatic elements – as it were to combine, but also to update the Coate and Lockett papers. Many of the documents seen by Miss Coate were, however, lost when Exeter was bombed; but some survive, notably the Exeter mint receipt books from 1643. These and other Vyvyan papers, including his minting commissions, have recently been acquired outright by Cornwall Record Office, to which I am indebted for much assistance. Examination of these, the Vyvyan composition papers at the Public Record Office and the Trelowarren sequestration papers at Truro has yielded new information which, it is hoped, will compensate in part for what has been lost.

## Documentary evidence

### *Truro*

In the middle of November 1642 a batch of commissions under the Great Seal of England was sent to the royalist commissioners in the remote and, in its loyalty to the King, isolated county of Cornwall. One of these, dated from Hampton Court on 14 November, was addressed to Sir Richard Vyvyan of Trelowarren and empowered him to erect one or more mints in the county to produce, from whatever bullion could be obtained, coinage of the prevailing weights and standards; this was to be delivered to the local commander, Sir Ralph Hopton, 'to whom we have given direction for the use of the same, for our service' (for the full reading of this document as it survives, see Appendix 1.1). The commissioners in Launceston forwarded this to Vyvyan on the 19th, instructing him to make his 'speedy repaire' to them and suggesting

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photographs; the Council of the British Numismatic Society, for permission to reproduce several illustrations from R.C. Lockett's article in *BNJ* 23; Tony Daly, for drawing Fig. 2 and for other technical assistance; and George Boon, for the continuing benefit of his wide knowledge and helpful comments.

<sup>1</sup> M. Coate, 'The royalist mints of Truro and Exeter 1642–6', *NC* 5th ser. 8 (1928), 213–48; R.C. Lockett, 'Notes on the mints of Truro and Exeter under Charles I', *BNJ* 22 (1934–7), 227–46; D.G. Liddell and P.A. Rayner, 'Charles I Truro/Exeter half-crowns', *BNJ* 30 (1960–1), 151–8; F.R. Cooper, 'The silver crowns of Truro and Exeter under Charles I', *BNJ* 46 (1976), 51–4. For a review of Exeter, see N. Shiel, 'The Civil War mint', in J. Andrews, N. Shiel and W. Elston, *Exeter Coinage* (Exeter, 1980), pp. 18–22, and for both mints, G.C. Boon, 'Provincial and Civil War issues', in *SCBI* 33 (1984) at pp. xxxvii–xxxviii.

that Bodmin or Liskeard might be suitable locations, and enclosing a declaration which enjoined 'all persons of what quallitie or degree soever' to bring in plate against satisfactory security and interest of eight per cent 'which wilbe held the most acceptabest service can be done to his Majestie'.<sup>2</sup>

In the same letter, the commissioners further instructed Vyvyan to procure 'pyoneers tooles' to the number of seven or eight dozen and although this request was discussed by Mary Coate in relation to the proposed mint, its context is surely one of military procurement – Vyvyan was by now a prominent member of the Cornish royalist command. Initially commissioned as Colonel of Foot for the Hundred of Powder on 1 August 1642, by mid-October his name appeared as one of the signatories on letters from the King's Cornish commissioners to their Parliamentary counterparts in Devon.<sup>3</sup> As well as raising further troops for the King, he was also to be commissioned captain of the fort erected in 1644 on the Denis Head to protect the Helford river.<sup>4</sup>

Documentary evidence for the early phase of minting is sparse. It has long been known that Vyvyan chose to site his mint at Truro – a location more secure than Liskeard, which lay uncomfortably close to enemy-held Devon, and more convenient than Bodmin. Mary Coate published two references to Truro, though neither can be dated precisely: Jonathan Rashleigh's plate brought 'to be melted for the King's service at Trewroe' and Abraham Biggs's account 'for charges of horse and men to carry a trunke of the Ld Roberts his plate to Trewrow to the Mynt from Liskerd', the second perhaps late in January 1643.<sup>5</sup> But there is an earlier reference to Vyvyan's minting, not previously noted by numismatists, and it seems to suggest that production started within a month or so of his receiving the commission: a letter from a Walter Kestell to 'Cousen Robensen, Turlowarren', dated '26 December' and appended to an order from Sir Francis Basset to parish constables on 29 December 1642 shows that Vyvyan, 'not willing to meddell with any other business but his coyning of money & his other necessary affairs', was too busy to chase reluctant recruits.<sup>6</sup>

The location of the Truro mint and the identities of its staff are not known, and further understanding is hampered by the lack of any official local records of the time. One contemporary Truro goldsmith is recorded, John Parnell, who in 1652 held a tenement adjoining the West Bridge.<sup>7</sup> Granted the need for silversmithing skills, and in the light of Vyvyan's subsequent association with at least one of the Exeter goldsmiths (below, p. 110), Parnell's involvement with the mint is possible, but there is no direct evidence, and his name does not appear in the Indices to the *Calendars* of the royalist composition, etc. papers in the Public Record Office.

There are several other pieces of evidence which, though not mentioning Vyvyan or the mint at Truro, relate to this phase of his operations and in particular to the mint's output. Plate was loaned by supporters such as Jonathan Rashleigh of Menabilly (£104-worth), who also acted as one of the Receivers of Plate, subsequently listing £600 worth for which he had given surety.<sup>8</sup> Francis Basset of Tehidy, appointed Sheriff of Cornwall on 3 March 1643, left several lists of his contributions to the royal cause. One, undated (but late in 1644) mentions plate 'put' to Vyvyan worth £101. 18s. 0d; another, 11 November 1644, leaves blank the total of

<sup>2</sup> Letter and enclosure: Cornwall Record Office V/BO/19.

<sup>3</sup> *The Buller Papers; a series of historical documents selected from the family records of the Bullers of Shillingham and Morval in the County of Cornwall*, edited by R.N. Worth (privately printed [Plymouth], 1895), pp. 81–4. I owe this reference to Mark Stoyke.

<sup>4</sup> 'Brief lives' of Vyvyan and others associated with the Exeter mint are given in Appendix 4. Further details regarding the Exeter goldsmiths may be found in T.A. Kent, *West Country Silver Spoons and their Makers* (1992), a work

seen by the writer only after this paper was substantially complete.

<sup>5</sup> Coate, p. 220; Biggs's account is MS Clarendon 23 f. 129–130; the charges were £3. I am grateful to Steven Tomlinson of the Bodleian Library for checking the reading.

<sup>6</sup> *The Buller Papers*, pp. 88–9.

<sup>7</sup> H.L. Douch, 'Cornish Goldsmiths', *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall* new ser. 6 (1970), 121–38; Kent 1992, p. 117. Parnell was Mayor of Truro in 1644, and died in 1666.

<sup>8</sup> Coate, pp. 219–20.

'plate to Sr. Ralph Hopton'.<sup>9</sup> These entries appear to represent the same plate, coined at Truro rather than Exeter, since Hopton left Cornwall in May 1643. Other plate was simply seized from opponents such as Lord Robartes of Lanhydrock, who after the war secured a judgement against Vyvyan for £360 in plate and other goods.<sup>10</sup> Another chance survival records the seizing of 681 oz of silver and 3 oz of gold (a total value of around £175) by Sir Nicholas Slanning from a Plymouth merchant on 14 January 1643.<sup>11</sup> In April 1643 another determined attempt to collect plate brought in £3,000 worth, according to the memoir Hopton wrote for Clarendon, and here again it must be regretted that lists of plate brought then to Liskeard were destroyed at Mount Edgcumbe during the last war.<sup>12</sup> Some at least of this plate will have been coined in time to help equip and pay the little army which opened up the west by beating the Earl of Stamford at Stratton on 16 May. The Hopton, Robartes and Slanning figures suggest that Truro's output may have been around £3,500 at minimum, though there is no obvious way of telling whether or by how much this figure may have been exceeded. The Rashleigh and Basset sums (over £800) are likely to have been part of Hopton's £3,000.

### *Exeter: the proposed Parliamentary Mint*

Before considering Vyvyan's operations at Exeter, it is worth recalling that in December 1642 and again in 1643, serious steps were taken by the Parliamentary opposition to set up a branch mint of the Tower in Exeter, the only place for which such a move seems to have been contemplated throughout the war. The city possessed considerable wealth and was remote from London. Moreover, royalist attacks on the city in November and December 1642 will have caused many prudent people to conceal their money securely and this will have led to a shortage of coin locally. A large hoard found in 1767 in St Sidwells, an extramural suburb in which some demolition was carried out for defensive purposes by the Earl of Stamford during the long siege of June–September 1643, may well serve to represent many more which were in due course recovered by their owners; it contained plate, as well as 'many' gold and several hundred silver coins.<sup>13</sup> The mint idea was discussed in the House of Commons on 8 December 1642 and, on 3 January, a mint and moneyers were ordered to be dispatched to Exeter.<sup>14</sup> It appears also that at some point one 'William Gobell' of the Mint did indeed go to Exeter and was present during the siege, but plate gathered then was never coined, for reasons that are not entirely clear. It formed one of the bones of contention the following year in a dispute between Philip Francis, a former mayor of Plymouth, and Charles Vaughan, Parliamentary Treasurer of Devon. In particular, Francis alleged that during the siege Vaughan prevented Gobell from coining the plate, hoping thereby that it would fall into the King's hands, Vaughan retorting that Gobell himself 'made scruple to coyne it, because (as he pretended) it would be treason' and that 'he made such demands for the charge to doe it, that the plate would yield more as it was.'<sup>15</sup> During the siege, the Exeter goldsmiths Edward Anthony and William Bartlett, as treasurers of the Parliamentary

<sup>9</sup> CRO, Basset papers, B/35/59 and /56.

<sup>10</sup> CRO, V/EC/3/64 is a draft release for Robartes to sign cancelling payment of £360 awarded against Vyvyan for taking plate and other goods (undated, c. 1647).

<sup>11</sup> CSPD Vol. 496, 43 l.

<sup>12</sup> *Bellum Civile: Hopton's narrative of his campaign in the West (1642–1644)*, edited by C.E.H. Chadwick-Healy, Somerset Record Society, 18 (1902), p. 36; Historical Manuscripts Commission, Appendix to 2nd Report (1874), p. 23.

<sup>13</sup> E. Besly, *English Civil War Coin Hoards*, British Museum Occasional Paper 51 (1987), p. 101, K18. The hoard may, however, have been deposited between 1643 and 1645, when the remainder of St Sidwells was flattened under the direction

of Sir John Berkeley and Lord Goring (M. Stoye, pers. comm.).

<sup>14</sup> *Commons Journal*, ii, 881, 912. The mint idea may have resulted from news received on 21 November that Exeter had resolved to send 'at least £20,000' of plate to the Parliament in London (M. Stoye pers. comm.).

<sup>15</sup> 'Gobell' seems to be otherwise unrecorded, though there was a Tower engraver named John Scobell in the 1680s (C.E. Challis, 'Mint officials and moneyers of the Stuart period', *BNJ* 59 (1989), 157–97 at p. 196). This whole episode (B.L. Thomason E.258 (29)) was drawn to my attention by Mark Stoye, who has shared freely his unrivalled knowledge of the records relating to Civil War Exeter.

defence fund, accounted for a total of £4,459–10–11d received in money and plate, of which up to about half may have been plate.<sup>16</sup> Certainly, Vaughan admitted in 1644 that £1,300 of plate had been brought in, but claimed that it had been sent to London to buy arms.

### *Exeter: the Royalist Mint*

When in September 1643 the royalists captured Exeter, Vyvyan's Truro mint was rapidly moved thither, and Vyvyan himself was made a freeman of the city on 2 October.<sup>17</sup> A new commission under the Great Seal, extending his mint-franchise to Devon and Exeter, was not issued until the following January (Appendix 1.2), but already by the end of September bullion was being received at the new Exeter mint. Secure facts about royalist mints are hard to find, and there is nothing new to say about its location or staff, except to follow Mary Coate and draw attention to Vyvyan's occupancy of a house in St Olave's parish which belonged to Edward Anthony's sister-in-law, Hannah, and to eighteenth-century maps of Exeter which refer to an old mint and Old Mint Lane near Friernhay, in the same part of the city as the probable site of the Recoinage mint of 1696.<sup>18</sup> Thomas Hawkes, the Clerk, remains the only known member of the mint's staff other than Vyvyan to be named as such.<sup>19</sup> However, the survival of the two small receipt books covering the first few months of the mint's operation, and the list of the tools seized by the Exeter Committee in 1646, provide a unique picture of a royalist mint at work, and enable the development of the partial and in places inaccurate view set out by Mary Coate.

The two Exeter receipt books, which are marked 'A' and 'B' on their covers, record the delivery of plate to the mint and its payment in coined form to representatives of the royalist army or to its owners (Appendix 2). There is some overlap between them at first, which led Mary Coate to describe book 'A' as the rough copy and 'B', which is altogether tidier, as the formal receipt book. This initial apparent confusion between the books may reflect the different circumstances which Vyvyan encountered in the newly-captured city. Whereas in Truro he had largely accepted bullion for coining on promise of future repayment, in Exeter Vyvyan was receiving plate which was either seized outright, or which had to be paid for promptly. These different purposes were combined at first in both books. Book 'A', which on one cover is endorsed 'Plate received to the Kings use' and on the other, 'other plate received and payed for, Exon.', came to be used exclusively for plate that was paid for (though there are several entries proper to Book 'B'). The second book, 'B', entitled 'Acquittances for plate received for the Kings use, Exon 27 Septem 1643', and on its back cover 'Receipts for other plate brought into the minte', was initially perhaps the fair copy, but was used solely for plate seized or lent 'for his Majesty's service'. The term 'plate' must be understood to refer to *silver* plate in all cases, unless otherwise specified as gilt.

To consider book 'B', which contains the bulk of the earliest entries, first: this contains acquittances, signed by the bringer, for plate which was to go to the royalist western army; that is, plate seized directly from Parliamentarians, or rounded up by royalist officials. The first entry, often reproduced because it is the clearest, records delivery on 29 September of 883¼ ounces on behalf of the mayor, Christopher Clarke the Elder, 'for his majesty's use'. The following day, 200 oz were taken from Nicholas Broking, merchant who, like the goldsmith Ralph Herman (800 oz on 26 October), was to serve the city as Mayor during the Interregnum.

<sup>16</sup> M. Stoyke, *Exeter City Defences Project. Documentary Evidence for the Civil War Defences of Exeter, 1642–3* (Exeter, 1988), p. 47.

<sup>17</sup> Coate, p. 221.

<sup>18</sup> Coate, pp. 225–6; maps: J. Allan, pers. comm.; Andrews

(*Exeter Coinage*, p. 24) quotes evidence which suggests that the Recoinage mint was in Mary Arches Street, probably in part of the Blue Maid's hospital.

<sup>19</sup> Coate, pp. 227–8.



A large consignment of over 1,700 oz, perhaps left over from that collected during the siege, was taken from Edward Anthony and brought in on 14 October by John Hunkyn, gentleman, secretary to Sir John Berkeley, the new Governor of the city, though Anthony managed to reclaim 726 oz after intervention from Sir John. The remaining 980 oz were presumably returned to him against a cash payment of £338 recorded by Vyvyan (p. iii), which more than covered its value. Other royalists who signed acquittances were Richard Hunkyn (on his brother John's behalf), George Westcombe of Linridge and Captain Alan Penny (see below). The 1,492 oz received from John Bampffield on 3 November seem, however, to have formed a (forced?) loan from a repentant rebel; there is no acquittance, but Anthony's dealings include a reference to this effect on the 4th (interleaf, pages 4/5). Less clear is the position of Sir John Davie, baronet, of Sandford, who seems to have been a Parliamentary commissioner for Devon in 1642, but was ultimately to compound as a 'delinquent' in 1646.

At the back of Book 'B' (pages i–iii), Vyvyan tabulated the values in sterling of the plate recorded in the acquittances. He appears to have started this on 10 October, adding details of plate already received, Clarke's 883 oz of 29 September forming the second entry. The first payment of coin, recorded on page iv, was of £300 to Hugh Hodges, a Dorset attorney and Deputy Treasurer of the army, on 20 October. Since this predated Anthony's cash payment to Vyvyan, it must in all probability have been made in newly-minted coin, three weeks to the day from the first receipt of plate. Book 'B' payments continued until early April 1644, though little new plate was received under these arrangements after early November. Vyvyan's summaries show that 5,100 oz of plate, valued at £1,193 were entered in this way, which with £338 in money from Anthony came to £1,531. Of this, £1,460 were paid out during the same period, mainly to Hodges, with small sums to Captain Penny, Sir John Berkeley and the Exeter merchant John Colleton.

The bulk of the entries in Book 'A' cover November and December 1643, but it is probably incomplete, since the page following the last delivery (20 December) has been torn out. The latest payment recorded was on 3 January 1644. For the most part, Book 'A' records deliveries of plate brought in, coined and returned to its owners. In other words, as well as acting as an arm of royalist administration, and once its initial work of coining confiscated plate began to die down, the mint functioned in the traditional sense and was used as such by royalist, parliamentarian and presumably neutral alike. Anthony and his fellow-treasurer Bartlett both brought in plate, as did another goldsmith, John Lavers. Lavers appears regularly, always bringing substantial amounts of touched (hallmarked) plate, and it may be that he acted as a point of receipt for the mint – he was certainly a royalist and in 1646 compounded on the Exeter articles. Another regular visitor was Captain Alan Penny, an Exeter merchant who had been gaoled as a royalist troublemaker in December 1642. Released in 1643, he became a captain in the royalist army, was to become treasurer of the Western Association and commanded a company in Exeter during the final siege of 1645–6. All four may be seen on page four of Book 'A' (Fig. 1), Penny on this occasion (24 November) bringing a small parcel of 'ryalls', that is, Spanish silver dollars of 8-reales, and perhaps smaller denominations, which were a familiar sight in a port which had strong international trading connections.<sup>20</sup> On 18 June the City Council had agreed to accept 'Spanish peeces of eight' at five shillings per ounce as part of their fundraising during the siege, while 'Spanish money' formed 18 per cent by value of the silver stock of the Exeter goldsmith William Horwood, according to the probate inventory of 20 March 1614.<sup>21</sup> Two other consignments of ryals are recorded in Book 'A', both on 2 December.

<sup>20</sup> J.N. Brushfield, 'The financial diary of a citizen of Exeter, 1631–41', *Transactions of the Devonshire Association* 33 (1901), 187–269, quotes at p. 198 transactions by John Hayne involving 'ryalls' and 'Portugal testons'.

<sup>21</sup> Stoye, p. 52; J.F. Chanter, 'The Exeter Goldsmiths' Guild', *Transactions of the Devonshire Association*, 44 (1912), 438–79, at p. 448.

4) 24. 9 by 1409-00

~~Recd in value of 1000~~ } 45. 2. 1/4 1/8  
~~at 4. 6. 10. 8. 7. 0. 3. 1/2~~  
~~10. 12. 20.~~

25. 9 by

~~Recd from Bartlett of value~~ } 35. 2. 1/2  
~~found at 4. 6. 9. 8.~~  
~~more at 4. 6. 8. 8.~~ 114. 2. 1/2  
~~10. 12. 20.~~  
~~19. 2. 11. 8.~~

20. 9 by 1030. 09

~~Recd from Savant of value~~  
~~at 4. 6. 10. 8.~~  
~~10. 12. 20.~~  
~~more 18. 4.~~

21. 9 by 162. 2. 1/2

~~Recd from duty of value~~  
~~at 4. 6. 10. 8.~~  
~~10. 12. 20.~~  
~~more 11. 11. 8.~~ 1409

Fig 1. Exeter mint receipt book A, page 4, November 1643. By permission of Cornwall Record Office, copyright reserved.

Vyvyan was not always able to pay on the spot, and many part-payments are recorded. These are not always dated, although it seems in general that where possible a part-payment was made immediately, with full settlement upon the depositor's next visit. In one extreme case plate brought by William Bartlett on 23 November was not fully paid until exactly one month later. Upon full payment, each entry in book 'A' was crossed through (Fig. 1). Some,

however, remained uncanceled, three of them relating to Anthony, and these may have formed part of the basis of his postwar suit against Vyvyan, though his account, which was mentioned by Mary Coate, is now lost.<sup>22</sup> Book 'A' contains several other intriguing entries, notably the first of all, a consignment of over 2,800 oz, the biggest single batch, from Prince Maurice on 9 October, striking confirmation, perhaps, of his reputation as a plunderer. This entry is not cancelled – it may perhaps have served as an aide-memoire for a transaction not otherwise intended to be recorded – and it is not certain that the plate was coined. An order from Maurice on 20 November to repay a large debt to some Exeter citizens using money from the mint, another document now lost, may suggest an awareness that there was plenty of bullion available, though again there is no record that this was carried out.<sup>23</sup> The order was no doubt delivered by 'the Princes steward', who on that day brought in a further 190½ oz, for which he was paid there and then (p. 5). On 12 December, Alan Penny brought in 75 oz, a quarter of which was promptly returned to him. A further 20¼ oz from this consignment, presumably a single article still unmelted, was a week later apparently sent to the governor's wife. The occasion for this, and why the royalist Peter Sainthill, MP, of Bradninch should deliver a parcel of plate on 1 December, only to take it back again, apart from two flagons, are matters for conjecture.

Few actual pieces of plate are mentioned, since all that mattered was their weight and fineness, as touched, gilt, and so on (Table 1). Penny's consignment of 18 November included a basin (probably gilt) weighing nearly 47 oz and a sugar dish of touched white plate weighing 19¾ oz; Sainthill's flagons together weighed 101 oz. Vyvyan paid, or calculated, at 4s 10d per Troy ounce for gilt touched, 4s 8d for white touched, and for untouched plate, whose fineness could not be guaranteed, 4s 2d gilt and 4s white. In the event, the vast majority of all plate received was hallmarked.<sup>24</sup> While this may be an interesting reflection of the efficacy of control nationally, it could to some extent indicate a reluctance to surrender, at unfavourable rates, plate

TABLE 1. Plate deliveries by category, September 1643–April 1644

	<i>Book A</i>		<i>Book B</i>		<i>Totals</i>	
	<i>oz</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>oz</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>oz</i>	<i>%</i>
White, touched	5478.–	47.4	3580.½	69.8	9058.½	54.3
White, untouched	641.¼	5.5	147.⅛	2.9	788.⅜	4.7
Gilt, touched	353.⅛	3.1	1285.⅛	25.1	1638.¼	9.8
Gilt, untouched	—	—	116.¼	2.3	116.¼	0.7
'Touched'*	4417.¼	38.2	—	—	4417.¼	26.5
'Old touch'	51.¼	0.4	—	—	51.¼	0.3
'Parcell gilt'	208.–	1.8	—	—	208.–	1.2
'Ryalls'	416.⅞	3.6	—	—	416.⅞	2.5
Totals	11565.¾		5129.½		16695.¼	

\*Unspecified touched plate, up to 2985 oz of which may have been gilt, to judge from the rates quoted. Book 'B' figures exclude Anthony's parcel of 14 October.

<sup>22</sup> Coate, p. 235.

<sup>23</sup> Coate, p. 223.

<sup>24</sup> In book 'B', virtually all of the touched white plate is described as 'tower touched'. There is no obvious explanation

for this, which predates the adoption of the Exeter town mark of a tower by nearly fifty years. The term appears once only in book 'A'.

which though untouched might be of good quality.<sup>25</sup> Vyvyan's rates were a little ungenerous compared with the Oxford rate of 5s for white touched plate, but apparently to some extent negotiable, since allies such as Lavers, John Colleton and Robert Walker, MP for Exeter, even on one occasion Bartlett, were sometimes paid 4s 9d or even 4s 10d for touched white plate.<sup>26</sup> It should also be remembered that Vyvyan was authorised to recover his operating costs, without accounting for them.<sup>27</sup> Book 'A' records no fewer than 11,568 oz of plate (about £2,715 worth at Vyvyan's normal rates) which came to the mint before the end of December, which is additional to the £1,193 worth taken for the King and recorded in book 'B'.

In combination, these two receipt books give a vivid picture of the Exeter mint's operations during the three months October–December 1643. We may note in passing a fairly regular series of receipt days on Saturdays, which matched contemporary practice in London; also that the Sabbath was strictly observed, except for one payment to Hodges on 19 November, entered in book 'B'. The period 18 November–23 December was particularly busy, though the almost total lack of receipts of plate thereafter may reflect the loss of the receipt book which presumably succeeded book 'A'. It is known, however, that Vyvyan attended the Oxford Parliament at the end of January 1644; and if this absence were to explain the lack of entries for 25 January–2 February, the fortnight of 4–17 November, when apparently no plate or coin was booked into or out of the mint at a time when it had just become fully operational, is all the more remarkable. The master's absence, too, is surely indicated, perhaps in the field with Sir John Berkeley, though another possibility is investigated below (p. 117). Receipts and payments are summarised on a week-by-week basis in Table 2, from which it is apparent that while for November and December the picture seems to be fairly complete, the first month is somewhat unclear. In addition to the puzzle of Prince Maurice's plate, a consignment of over 750 oz from Anthony on 21 October (book 'A', p. 2), separate from the 1,706 oz already taken from him (book 'B', p. 5), is not recorded as having been paid. What is certain is that payments totalling £3,070 were made from the mint between 20 October 1643 and 2 April 1644 and that, discounting Anthony's cash payment of £338 (probably some time in November) the mint's output was at least £2,732 during this time. If all of the recorded plate was coined, this figure rises to £3,888. In other words, the mint's output during the period covered by the books, principally between October and December 1643, was at least double, and may have been about three times the figure usually quoted on the basis of Vyvyan's summary in Book 'B'. This, in turn, could be of some significance in the attribution of Vyvyan's undated issues.

As with Truro, there are few other sources which bear upon the Exeter mint, or its output. After the initial busy period in 1643, output seems to have fallen away sharply, though book 'A' is incomplete. The last recorded receipt in book 'A' was on 20 December, but William Bartlett and John Lavers both came to the mint on the 23rd and may well have brought more plate then. The £200 in plate which the City Council voted to accept on 2 January 1644, in payment of debts from Sir George Chudley and others, falls tantalisingly less than two weeks after the last surviving entry in Book 'A', but was no doubt coined; and an uncertain sum was presumably minted late in July 1644 after the Council had voted on the 25th to dispose of City plate 'for the best profit' to defray the costs of gifts to the King and Prince Maurice, of £500 and £100 respectively.<sup>28</sup>

All bullion arriving at a mint was normally assayed, by cupellation, and the correct final alloy obtained by blending different parcels. Refining was not normally carried out, though

<sup>25</sup> The risk that untouched plate might be substandard was, however, real. In the West Country search carried out by the Wardens of the Goldsmiths Company in August 1633, six Exeter goldsmiths – Edward Anthony, George Barnes, William Bartlett, Ralph Hernan, John Lavers and Jasper Radcliffe – were visited. Three (Barnes, Hernan and Radcliffe) were found with wares that were substandard, by up to 1 oz 10 dwts (12½ per cent), and fined accordingly. John Parnell of Truro was also fined, for offering spoons

which were below standard, at Bodmin Fair. See Kent 1992, p. 39.

<sup>26</sup> In book 'B', descriptions are always precise: several entries in book 'A' describe receipts of 'touched' plate at 4s 9d and 4s 10d, a good deal of which was no doubt gilt, though this cannot be certain given that rates paid for touched white plate could be as high as these.

<sup>27</sup> See Vyvyan's 1643/4 commission. Appendix 1.2.

<sup>28</sup> Coate, pp. 223–4.



TABLE 2. Receipts and payments at the Exeter Mint, September 1643–April 1644

All figures are given in pounds sterling (£. s. d.). Receipts are calculated according to Vyvyan's rates, corrected where necessary (see Appendix 2). Payments are those recorded by Vyvyan. Where these are not dated (book 'A'), it has been assumed that full payment or the first part-payment was made on the spot and any subsequent sum was made good on the bringer's next recorded visit.

<i>Week ending</i>	<i>Receipts</i>			<i>Payments (coin)</i>		
	<i>A</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Plate Receipts</i>						
30 Sept	—	251.19.06	251.19.06	—	—	—
7 Oct	—	198.08.02	198.08.02	—	—	—
14 Oct	656.00.01¼	99.16.10½	755.16.11¼	—	—	—
21 Oct	168.07.05½	—	168.07.05½	—	300.00.00	300.00.00
28 Oct	111.03.00	186.13.04	297.16.04	111.03.00	—	111.03.00
4 Nov	—	353.15.03½	353.15.03½	—	260.00.00	260.00.00
11 Nov	—	—	—	—	—	—
18 Nov	118.10.06¾	—	118.10.06¾	36.13.10	—	36.13.10
25 Nov	604.00.05	—	604.00.05	550.04.10	250.00.00	800.04.10
2 Dec	329.17.09¾	—	329.17.09¾	275.16.03	150.00.00	425.16.03
9 Dec	211.10.06	—	211.10.06	105.13.02	—	105.13.02
16 Dec	255.07.00½	—	255.07.00½	76.07.09	100.00.00	176.07.09
23 Dec	260.10.11	—	260.10.11	401.13.05	—	401.13.05
30 Dec	—	—	—	30.00.00	—	30.00.00
6 Jan	—	—	—	22.16.08	—	22.16.08
13 Jan	—	45.13.06½	45.13.06½	—	—	—
20 Jan	—	—	—	—	—	—
27 Jan	—	—	—	—	100.00.00	100.00.00
3 Feb	—	—	—	—	100.00.00	100.00.00
10 Feb	—	36.05.00	36.05.00	—	—	—
17 Feb–3 Mar	—	—	—	—	—	—
10 Mar	—	—	—	—	50.00.00	50.00.00
17 Mar	—	—	—	—	50.00.00	50.00.00
24/31 Mar	—	—	—	—	—	—
7 Apr	—	—	—	—	100.00.00	100.00.00
<i>Cash Receipt</i>						
November?	—	338.00.00	338.00.00	—	—	—
Totals	2715.07.09¾	1510.11.08½	4225.19.06¼	1610.08.11	1460.00.00	3070.08.11

the poor quality of some raw materials forced this step on Sir William Parkhurst at Oxford.<sup>29</sup> The Spanish ryals, whose fineness of about 94 per cent silver was above sterling, and for which Vyvyan was prepared to pay 4s 9d or 4s 10d, will have been useful here to improve substandard alloys. The presence in the mint equipment of rings for making 'teasts', that is, bone-ash cupels (Appendix 3), shows that assays were carried out at Exeter. The goldsmiths Samuel Calley, who was a close confidant of Vyvyan's, or John Lavers may have had a hand here.<sup>30</sup> Recent analyses of some of the coins indicate that the sterling standard of 92.5 per cent fine silver was in general maintained, though with some variation.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>29</sup> G.C. Boon, *Cardiganshire Silver and the Aberystwyth Mint in Peace and War* (Cardiff, 1981), p. 271.

<sup>30</sup> From his frequent visits late in 1643, Lavers appear to have been involved with the mint at an early stage; Calley does not appear in the mint books, so his involvement may have begun only later: he was admitted a Freeman of the city at Vyvyan's request on 22 July 1645 (Coate, p. 225) and was entrusted with the mint's tools in 1646 when Vyvyan left Exeter (see p. 120).

<sup>31</sup> E. Besly and M. Cowell, 'The metrology of the English Civil War coinages of Charles I, *BNJ* 61 (1991), 57–75. Three Truro half crowns contained 92.9 per cent (A1), 90.7 per cent (E2) and 92.2 per cent silver (G5); Exeter, undated: 90.8 per cent (J14); 94.2 per cent (K18); '1642': 96.5 per cent (L22); 1644: 92.5 per cent (K29); 92.9 per cent (M30); 91.3 per cent (N37); 1645: 88.9 per cent (N41). Gold (>0.1 per cent) was detected in all; Zinc (>0.2 per cent) in two.

*Exeter: the mint at work*

One other document supplements the picture which the receipt books provide of the workings of the mint at Exeter – the inventory of goods seized by the local committee following the end of the war and Vyvyan's departure from Exeter. Four copies exist in the PRO papers relating to Vyvyan's composition, that quoted by Mary Coate and other writers being SP 23/127/13, which includes Vyvyan's sworn statement, dated 20 May 1647, that the goods specified had been bought and paid for by him or by his orders. Two others have slightly simplified wording.<sup>32</sup> The fourth (SP 23/127/31) seems to be the original list compiled by Samuel Calley and sent to Vyvyan at the latter's request on 9 November 1646.<sup>33</sup> This is the most detailed of the four and alone among them gives the date of the taking of the equipment, 29 June 1646; it is reproduced as Appendix 3.

The list supplements the evidence of the coins themselves that traditional manual methods were used to prepare alloys, blanks and coins at Exeter. Vyvyan appears to have followed the customary sequence of operations. The alloy was first melted, and cast into strips, no doubt using the 'double ingott', or mould. The strips were in turn hammered out on a 'flating anvil' and cut into pieces, whose weights were then adjusted, both operations requiring shears, of which six pairs are recorded, four large and two small. These blanks would next be made round, and although it was not always done well, this operation was carried out at Exeter, since a pair of tongs (for gripping a stack of blanks) and a 'hamer for rounding', i.e. beating their edges roughly circular, are listed together.

The blanks might also be beaten flat again and annealed to soften them for coining. It would appear that this was carried out at Exeter by placing the blanks on an iron sheet in an oven. The 'iron sheet for nayling' seems at first sight somewhat out of place in Vyvyan's inventory, but the term 'nayling' is paralleled elsewhere and appears to be a version of nealing, or annealing – all three forms are sanctified by the *Oxford English Dictionary* – and the 1649 inventory of the Silver Mills mint in Wales includes a similar term.<sup>34</sup> Finally, to restore a shining silver surface, the blanks would be blanched by pickling in an acid tartrate solution known as 'argol'. Here, perhaps, is the explanation of an iron 'scull' listed in the Exeter inventory – a strong shallow oval or circular basket, ideal no doubt for dipping, full of coins, in one of Vyvyan's 'great iron potts'.<sup>35</sup> There are a further eight hammers, some presumably for coining, using dies distinguished in the list as 'under' and 'upper stamps'. The 'smale punchins and tooles' used to cut these dies are considered in detail below. Comparison with the list of equipment surrendered in 1649 at the Silver Mills highlights one notable omission at Exeter – balances and weights. Again, the involvement of one of the local goldsmiths (Lavers?), using his own property, may be indicated.

## Numismatic Evidence

### *The die-cutting sequence*

In his paper published in volume 23 of this *Journal*, R.C. Lockett listed all of the varieties in his own collection and several others, and this listing has remained the standard reference to the Truro–Exeter series. In general it is self-evidently correct: the coins dated 1644 and 1645 must come at the end of the sequence and, given that there is no sign of two parallel coinages, must have been produced at Exeter. Continuity from some of the undated coins provides the

<sup>32</sup> SP 23/188/787 and /808.

<sup>33</sup> CRO V/BO/22B(4).

<sup>34</sup> Boon, *Cardiganshire Silver*, p. 141, fig. 63 and p. 151: 'one neyling pann'.

<sup>35</sup> Several of these 'sculls' appear to be illustrated on the Constanx mint windows of 1624; see *Money: from Cowrie Shells to Credit Cards*, edited by J. Cribb (British Museum, 1986), p. 99, fig. 359f.

TABLE 3. Summary of die-cutting sequence, Truro and Exeter

<i>Group</i>	<i>Denom.</i>	<i>Dies</i>	<i>Characteristic features</i>	<i>Attribution</i>
I	2s6d	A, B, C, D; 1, 2, 3	Hand cut letters (1); punctuation 1, 2 or more pellets; rectangular shield (1)	Truro
IIa	2s6d 10s	E, F, G; 4, 5 A; 1	Punched letters (2), except 10s die A; rectangular shield (2); p.m. 'Truro' rose (3) on 10s die A and 2s6d dies G, 5	Truro
IIb	5s	A; 1	modified letter C; horseman cf. 2s6d die G	Truro
IIc	2s6d 1s	H, [I]; 6, 7, 8 A; 1	shield 2; lettering 3	Truro
IIIa	5s 2s6d 1s	B; 2 J; 9–13 C; 2, 3	oval shield (3); punctuation; horseman; Scots lion 3 on half crowns and crown	Exeter?
IIIb	5s	[C]; 3	oval shield (4); punctuation as IIIa; Scots lion 3; 5s die C = B, with punctuation recut	Exeter
IIIc	5s 2s6d	—; 4–7 —; 14–16	shield 4; Scots lion C2; punctuation single pellets	Exeter
IIId	2s6d 1s	L?; 18–21, 22? —; 5, 6	new lys (3) and English lions (3)	Exeter
(20s: A;1, 2s6d: K;17 and 1s: B;4 acquired from Oxford during period of use of Group III dies)				
IVa	2s6d	—; 23	dated 1644, with 'Truro' rose p.m. (3)	Exeter, 1644
IVb	5s 2s6d 1s	—; 8–12 M; 24–27 —; 7–9	dated 1644, with 'Exeter' rose p.m. (4)	Exeter, 1644
IVc	2s6d 1s smaller	N?; 28–32 —; 10, 11 all	dated 1644; English lions damaged (3'); small harps on shilling dies	Exeter, 1644
IVd	20s 5s 2s6d 1s	—; 2 —; 13–15 —; 33–35; 36–38? —; 12	dated 1644, except 20s die 2: English lions 2 and lys 2 return to use on dies for 2s6d; some new letter punches; p.m. Ex on dies 37–8	Exeter, 1644
Va	5s 2s6d 1s	—; 16, 17 —; 39–42, 51 —; 16	dated 1645; p.m. Ex; lys unbroken, dies 16, 17 and 2s6d die 39: broken lys, 40 on	Exeter, 1645
Vb	5s 2s6d 1s	—; 18 —; 43–47 —; 13–15	dated 1645; p.m. Rose; broken lys used for all dies	Exeter, 1645
Vc	5s 2s6d	D; 19–31 —; 48–50	dated 1645; p.m. Tower	Exeter, 1645

specimens that immediately preceded the dated sequence. The order of the earliest types is less clear, and there have remained several questions of detail which have never been satisfactorily answered. A new die study has therefore been carried out, looking closely at the punches involved, in order to ascertain the die-cutting sequence, and to fit into this the puzzling half crowns dated 1642, the undated coins usually described as 'Truro or Exeter', and to discover

what, if any, connection there is with the enigmatic 'bugle'-marked half crown. In passing, it may be noted that new dies and combinations have expanded Lockett's 98 varieties to a total of 131. Much of what follows is based on the half crowns, the only denomination produced from beginning to end, but the parallel evidence of the crowns and shillings, in particular, is also useful. A full list of dies found, classified according to designs and the punches used to make them, is given as Appendix 5, and a schedule of die-combinations and specimens used as the basis of study forms Appendix 6. Comparison across denominations provides a broad picture of the die-cutting, which for convenience may be divided into five groups (Table 3).

It is here suggested that, rather than springing fully-fledged from nowhere with the high-quality workmanship of the '1642' half crowns, the technique of Vyvyan's workers evolved from crude beginnings – both as regards die-cutting and in their standards of coin production. The evolution of the privy-mark and of the lettering on the first half crown dies go hand-in-hand with an improving competence in coining. The first legends were cut by hand, followed by a set of punches (lettering 2) some of which proved more elegant than durable and were soon replaced (the first being the letter 'C' with delicate 'forked' serifs, which was modified for the dies for the crown A1), giving an alphabet which served to cut all of Vyvyan's dies until well into 1644. The privy-mark evolved in parallel, the rose (no. 3) which resulted serving for all dies until early in 1644 Old Style. Initially, there is a high proportion of obverse dies, but after the first two groups, there are few obverses. The study becomes one of reverses and even the smallest punches used, for the lions and the fleurs-de-lys of the arms of England and France, have parts to play in establishing the sequence.

#### *Die Groups I and II: Truro*

Of the three groups of dies which include undated reverses, the first two correspond broadly to coins normally attributed to Truro, though reduced to one die-pair each for crowns and shillings, and with the addition of the gold double crown. The third encompasses the 'Truro or Exeter' series, comparably expanded as regards crowns and shillings. It is proposed that coins struck using dies of groups I and II continue to be attributed to Truro. Dies A and 1 apart, the equal numbers of half crown obverse and reverse dies seem to have been used interchangeably, giving thirteen combinations. It is not impossible that new ones may yet be found. Die B, for instance, which on the basis of its legend, lettering and privy mark comes early in group I, is at present recorded only with die 6, late in group II, but this obverse is also badly damaged and not otherwise known in a fresh state. Similarly, development of damage on other dies does not always follow the apparent die cutting sequence of those they are paired with.

Vyvyan's first commission ordered him to produce money with 'the like stamps and forme as the monies now current . . .', so his choice of designs is of some interest, perhaps being determined by such well-struck specimens as were available to him. Thus, the first reverses seem to have been based on a variety of Tower type 2a half crowns (pl. 9, 1), setting a pattern of rectangular shields for the Truro half crowns. For their obverses, there are two sources, type III half crowns (pl. 9, 2) and, for the adventurous 'galloping horseman' designs, the medals relating to the Scots war of 1639 (pl. 9, 3). The crown A1 and gold double crown A1 follow Tower groups III and D respectively.

In this context, it is now possible to consider the so-called 'bugle' halfcrown (pl. 10, A1), long recognised as having distinct Truro affinities. The handful of surviving specimens are all poorly struck, giving partial impressions only, from dies which quickly cracked and broke. The full designs of these dies have been recreated as far as is possible from photographs of four specimens (Fig. 2). The harp and privy-mark excepted, they correspond closely to the dies that belong at the head of the series, even down to the forked serifs of the Cs. The lettering is hand cut and, on the obverse, small and tentative. This die also bears the fullest



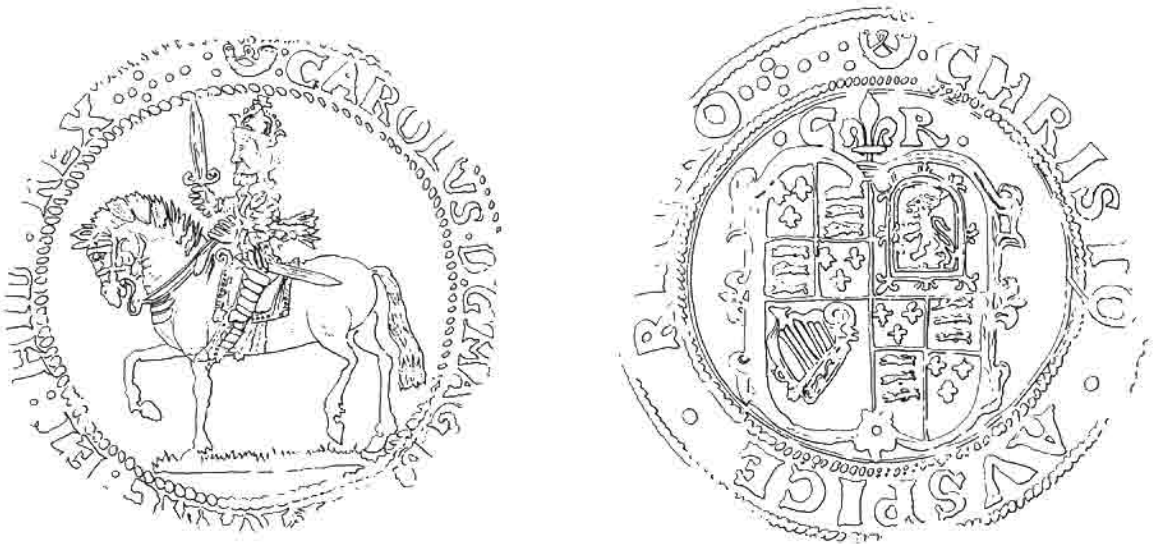


Fig 2. Half crown A1, with privy mark a buglehorn: designs reconstructed from the partial impressions on four specimens. Enlarged, 2:1. Drawn by Tony Daly.

form of the King's titles: MAG : B[ ] : FRANC : ET. HIB : REX.<sup>36</sup> It is suggested that these dies must be placed at the very head of the Vyvyan series, and they are therefore designated A and I. But what of the privy-mark? If the evolution of the 'Truro' rose was continuous, it would make sense to place the buglehorn first. It may, of course, have been a personal mark (though not Vyvyan's), in which case only chance will bring an explanation; however, the similarity between the Latin words *cornu*, or buglehorn, and *Cornubia*, Cornwall, is striking: a canting reference to the 'horn' of Britain would appear to be as likely an explanation for this privy mark as any.<sup>37</sup>

The gold double crown A1 (**pl. 11**) was published in this *Journal* as long ago as 1916 by Helen Farquhar, in the context of touch pieces, and was mentioned by Schneider in 1959 as a 'noteworthy Tower pattern', but its identity as a royalist gold issue – the first new one to be identified for many years – has been hitherto unsuspected.<sup>38</sup> The sole survivor, though pierced, is carefully struck from well-made dies. The obverse bears hand-cut lettering and the fully-developed 'Truro' rose (3) as its privy mark; the reverse has the first set of punched lettering of Vyvyan's group IIa dies, complete with the delicate letter C with forked serifs. More remarkable is a striking from these dies in silver, presumably a trial piece (**pl. 11**), which weighs 9.3 grams. This corresponds to no known silver denomination, so its considerable wear is presumably that of a 'pocket piece'.

The coins struck from dies of groups I and II are mostly very scarce (Appendix 6), with two noticeable exceptions: the crown A1, which rivals the 1644 groats as the most frequently-

<sup>36</sup> Of the other half crown dies, B reads MAG : BRIT : FRAN : ET. HIB., and from C onwards the reading is MA : BR(I) : FRA : ET. HI. Such shortening is normally taken to be progressive.

<sup>37</sup> The motto of the City of Truro: 'Exultatum cornu in Deo', adopted in 1877, is too late to be relevant here, but was chosen to reflect the earlier name of Cornwall. In Cornish, this is *Kernow*, thought to derive from the Latin 'Cornovii', meaning 'horn people', a reference to the geographical situation at the

end of the peninsula, or 'horn of Britain'. I am indebted to Angela Broome, Librarian of the Royal Cornwall Museum, for this information, quoting O.J. Padel, *A Popular Dictionary of Cornish Place Names* (Penzance, 1988).

<sup>38</sup> H. Farquhar, 'Royal charities. Part II – touchpieces for the King's Evil', *BNJ* 13 (1916), 95–163 at p. 99; H. Schneider, 'The Tower gold of Charles I. Part II: Double Crowns', *BNJ* 29 (1958–9), 101–27 (see p. 105).

encountered of Vyvyan's products, and the half crown H7. These two die pairs belong towards the end of the sequence, and were perhaps responsible for coining the bulk of the plate gathered during April 1643. Both saw heavy use, the reverses developing considerable flaws and the half crown obverse H needing to be partly recut, altering its reading from 'BR' to 'BRI' (die I, **pl. 11**).

### *Die Group III: Exeter, undated coinage*

The third group of dies consists chiefly of reverses, used with new crown and half crown obverses (B and J, respectively) which are so similar in appearance that they were probably made on a single occasion. Reverse shields are oval, of two forms, one with even scrolls all round, twelve on crown die 2 and eight on the half crowns (the so-called 'barrel' garniture,

TABLE 4. Summary of weights, Truro and Exeter mints

<i>Denomination</i>	<i>No. of coins</i>	<i>Mean wt. (g)</i>	<i>% of standard</i>	<i>Range (g)</i>
<b>Gold</b>				
Unite (20s.)	3	9.06	99.6	9.04–9.08
Double crown (10s.)	1	4.49	(98.7)	—
<b>Silver</b>				
Ten shillings, C7	1	59.18	(98.3)	—
<b>Crowns:</b>				
A1	38	29.34	97.5	27.94–30.43
B2	8	28.83	95.8	25.76–29.95
C3–C7	23	28.21	93.7	25.57–29.54
C8–15(1644)	39	28.45	94.5	25.74–29.89
C16–17(1645)	10	27.73	92.1	25.69–29.00
D16–17(1645)	15	28.54	94.8	27.04–29.29
D18(1645)	6	28.74	95.5	28.13–29.16
D19–31(1645)	53	28.62	95.1	26.72–30.03
<b>Half crowns:</b>				
A1	5	14.46	96.1	13.48–15.53
obvs. B–F	16	14.39	95.6	13.15–16.29
obvs. G–I	17	14.60	97.0	13.69–15.24
obv. J, undated	28	14.16	94.1	12.61–15.05
obv. K, undated	16	14.43	95.9	13.80–14.97
L22/28 ('1642')*	9	14.40	95.7	13.35–14.96
dated 1644 (all)	36	14.12	93.8	12.85–14.89
dated 1645 (all)	22	14.37	95.5	12.80–15.17
<b>Shillings:</b>				
A1	2	5.66	94.0	(5.24–6.08)
B2–C7	16	5.77	95.9	5.22–6.14
C8–12(1644)	18	5.52	91.7	5.03–5.88
C13–16(1645)	14	5.45	90.6	4.89–5.96
<b>Smaller coins (1644):</b>				
Sixpences	14	2.35	78.2	2.14–2.92
Groats	27	1.62	80.1	1.19–1.78
Threepences	20	1.15	76.5	0.95–1.34
Half groats	10	0.84	83.6	0.75–1.18
Pennies	6	0.47	93.6	0.44–0.51

\* Half crowns L22/28: Liddell and Rayner (note 1) quote 13 weights, averaging 221.7 gr (14.37g)

shield 3), the other with elongated scrolls at the bottom (shield 4). The parallel evidence of the crowns, where the barrel type comes first, suggests that this is the correct order for the halfcrowns, too, at least as far as regards the die-cutting sequence. The second form of shield (4) continued in use through the series dated 1644 and 1645. The undated dies with this form may be divided by the introduction of new punches for the lys and English lions (both designated '3') on dies 18–21. These too continued to be used in 1644, though the previous pair (2) remained in use for crown dies and eventually returned to use for half crowns.

With coins struck from dies of group III, several marked changes are apparent. First, a situation where there are equal numbers of obverse and reverse dies, used more or less interchangeably in the case of the half crowns, gives way to one where a few obverses are used in combination with many reverses. Second, there is a distinct change in the standard of production. Where the later group I/II coins are generally reasonably circular, though often with a characteristic wavy edge, and usually neatly (if incompletely) struck, many coins from group III dies are misshapen, often squarish, or poorly struck.<sup>39</sup> Third, mean weights drop and their control is less tight, giving a wider spread, most obviously in the crowns (Table 4).<sup>40</sup> These changes would appear to represent a different operation, most likely the establishment of the Exeter mint, with a largely new and inexperienced staff, the quality of whose work at first parallels the early efforts at Truro. It has been seen that Exeter's output between October 1643 and early April 1644 was probably two to three times greater than has hitherto been understood; equally, this output is to be sought in the undated series. It is essentially unprovable, but it would appear that virtually all of the 'Truro or Exeter' series should be ascribed to Exeter, and the presence of a considerable batch of these undated coins in uncirculated condition in the East Worlington hoard, only twenty miles or so away, lends support to this view. A single half crown (J8, Lockett's no. 12) appears to form the only link so far found between dies of groups I/II and group III: the reverse, a 'Truro' type, has not yet been recorded in combination with any 'Truro' obverse. It is a moot point as to whether this 'mule' was struck at Truro using a newly-made obverse which was soon removed to Exeter, or at Exeter using a reverse brought from Truro and an obverse which with crown die B was one of a pair made for Exeter in September–October 1643. The standard of production improved subsequently, but the wide range of weights continues to be found in the series dated 1644 and 1645, and would appear to be characteristic of the Exeter operation.

### *Anomalous dies*

Three pairs of dies which bear Vyvyan's privy mark (one each for shillings, half crowns and gold unites) were made from punches which do not otherwise belong to groups I–III. It may be seen that these dies were procured and used during the period covered by group III, since the anomalous shilling and half crown dies are found in combination with many dies of this phase. The assumption that because he paid for them himself, Vyvyan's dies must have been made locally, has hitherto obscured the possibility that he may also have obtained some from elsewhere.<sup>41</sup> If their source can be identified, this may provide an independent check on the chronology and attribution of some of the undated coins.

<sup>39</sup> For a spectacular example of a 'square' crown, see Glendining's, 19 June 1990, lot 889.

<sup>40</sup> It is emphasised that the lowest weights (which for crowns may represent a shortfall of up to 15 per cent, or nine pence (*d*) are not a result of clipping: these are full coins, as issued.

<sup>41</sup> The identity of Vyvyan's Exeter engraver remains uncertain. Samuel Calley is the likeliest candidate, but as for Parnell at Truro, there is no direct evidence. Spoons with royal

busts of Charles I or Charles II have been ascribed to both; and in 1660 Calley recut the King's arms on the Exeter sword of state, but whether this demonstrates more than a certain engraving ability which might be expected of a competent goldsmith of the time is another question. See T. Kent, 'Decorative features of 17th century English provincial silver spoons', in *The International Silver and Jewellery Fair and Seminar* (1987), pp. 23–30 at p. 28; and Kent 1992, pp. 73–4 and 117.

These three pairs of dies were undoubtedly obtained from Oxford, since the punches used for them match some of those on Oxford dies used during 1643 Old Style. The portrait of the shilling and unite dies was used at Oxford for shillings (pl. 9, 5), unites and triple – unites (pl. 9, 4), none of which, if the sequences defined by Morrieson and Beresford-Jones are followed, was the earliest used during 1643 (the lettering likewise).<sup>42</sup> There can be no certainty, but bearing in mind that the date 1643 would not have been used before late March, the shilling and unite obverses were probably not made before the summer, perhaps later. The half crown obverse may be matched more precisely. The Briot-type horseman of the Vyvyan die is poorly punched – the die may have been an Oxford reject – but, privy marks apart, it is otherwise the twin of Morrieson's die I (pl. 9, 6), including the damaged state of some of the letter-punches. This was one of two dies belonging to Morrieson's 'Intermediate' period, the eighth and ninth out of eleven obverses listed by him as having been used during 1643, introduced not long before the letters OX were added to Oxford reverse dies.<sup>43</sup> Again, the late summer or autumn seem to be indicated. Vyvyan's only securely documented visit to Oxford was late in January 1644, to attend the Oxford parliament.<sup>44</sup> This would appear to be too late to be the occasion for acquiring these dies, but the fortnight 4–17 November 1643, when Vyvyan seems to have been away from Exeter (above, p. 109), might have included a visit to Oxford. Of course, the dies need not have been acquired on a single occasion, nor need Vyvyan have visited Oxford to obtain them, but the establishment of a new mint and the lack of a competent engraver of the royal effigy for gold and shillings could have provided the occasion for obtaining two of these pairs of dies, to complement the group III crown and half crown dies.<sup>45</sup> It is possible that the half crown pair may have been bought later, since although its use overlapped with that of die J, the obverse (K) continued in use into 1644 O.S. The 'Oxford' reverses are hard to match, since Tower-type designs were not normally cut there. A hint that small tools may have been included amongst those taken from the Tower in 1642 comes from the form of harp on half crown die 17, which is close to, if not identical with that on a Tower half crown with the privy mark Star, 1640–1 (pl. 9, 7).<sup>46</sup>

The removal of the relevant coins from Truro strengthens the cohesion of the coins that may still be attributed to that mint and accords with the attribution to Exeter of the other undated types. It should be acknowledged that Lockett, over fifty years ago, raised the possibilities both that most of the undated crowns and half crowns of group III should be ascribed to Exeter and that there was an Oxford connection, though without pursuing either fully.<sup>47</sup> His ideas would appear to be confirmed.

#### *Die Group IV: Exeter, 1644*

From 1644, all Exeter coins were dated, though it is not known whether this change coincided with the Old Style new year on 25 March. A second noticeable alteration was the introduction of a new punch (4) for the rose privy mark. This 'Exeter' rose is larger and more open. The 'Truro' rose, in a poor state, remained in use until the beginning of this period, since it is found on a single half crown reverse dated 1644 (23). On the half crowns, the English lion punch (3) became damaged, losing the lower forepaw, and was used in that state for two, perhaps four more dies (29–32) before being replaced. New letter punches started to be used

<sup>42</sup> H.W. Morrieson, 'The coinage of Oxford, 1642–46', *BNJ* 16 (1921–2), 129–88; R.D. Beresford-Jones, 'The Oxford mint and the triple-unites of Charles I', *BNJ* 27 (1952–4), 334–44; 'The Oxford mint, 1642–6. Unites and half-unites', *BNJ* 28 (1955–7), 604–19.

<sup>43</sup> Morrieson, p. 142 and pl. IV.

<sup>44</sup> Coate, p. 224.

<sup>45</sup> No gold is recorded in the receipt books between September and December 1643, so the unite dies appear not to have been used before early 1644; gilding from plate will not have been useful for this purpose.

<sup>46</sup> This coin, now in a private collection, was Osborne (GL 23.iv.1991), 167, part.

<sup>47</sup> Lockett, pp. 230–1.



on die 35, and crown dies 14–5. Two new half crown obverses, M and N, both bear the 'Exeter' rose privy mark. The first was relatively short-lived, but N continued in use until the end of minting in 1645–6. One anomaly, the half crown N13, combines this obverse with an undated reverse from the head of the 'Exeter' series, and appears to represent the anachronistic use of a surviving reverse die, rather than an earlier date for die N, which is not found with any other undated reverses (nor is the 'Exeter' rose found on any undated reverse).

During 1644, a series of smaller denominations, from sixpence down to a penny, was introduced, necessitating the production of smaller letter and other punches. The groats and threepences in particular are numerous, suggesting a considerable output of these useful small coins. Their low weights may in part result from more vigorous circulation. The smaller harp punch was also used in the cutting of shilling dies 10 and 11 and again in 1645. A replacement reverse die for gold unites was also cut during 1644; it bears the 'Exeter' rose, and the other punches involved place it in group IVd. Two coins listed by Lockett have not been found, the half crown RCL 22a (perhaps the same as M25) and the penny, RCL 2, which Lockett too had not seen – its existence is doubtful.

### *Half crowns dated 1642*

The half crowns dated 1642, which depict King Charles I holding a baton and galloping over a pile of arms, have long puzzled numismatists. They are generally very carefully made on well shaped blanks, but the surfaces of some gave rise to suggestions that some at least may have been later productions. They were examined in detail by Liddell and Rayner, who concluded that they were indeed contemporary products, that they were made by machinery and from their date they were Truro products.<sup>48</sup> The use of the obverse die with Exeter reverses dated 1644 and 1645 demonstrates the good sense of the first of these suggestions. Fresh examination casts doubt on the others.

The obverse die cannot be dated closely, except to note that it bears the fully-developed lettering (3) characteristic of all dies from group IIc until group IVc–d, i.e., from late in the Truro series until well into 1644 O.S., when letter punches started to be replaced. The two reverses are more informative: both bear the fleur and English lion punches which appeared in group IIId, towards the end of the undated series. The first (since it was used with obverse in fresh state: die 22/RCL 1) bears the 'Truro' rose (3) and undamaged lions. The second (die 28/RCL 1a) bears the 'Exeter' rose (4) and damaged lions. When used with this die, the obverse shows a flaw in the word CAROLVS (R-O) which is also apparent when it is coupled with dies dated 1644 and 1645.

These '1642' coins appear, therefore, to have been issued on more than one occasion, and belong, at the earliest, late in the undated sequence. In other words, they were made at Exeter and the date they bear is not a true one, but must be commemorative. It follows also that the true originality of using the obverse – the galloping horse and the baton held by the King – as a coin design lies in the creation of obverse die B at Truro, very early in that mint's life. It is tempting to see in die B a reference to Vyvyan's receipt of his first commission in November 1642 and in die L a similar reference to the belated appearance of his second, early in 1644, which confirmed and expanded the scope of that of 1642, brought about by the King's victories in 1643 (the trampled arms) which culminated in the West with the taking of Exeter. The use of a design taken from the Scots Rebellion medals may serve to underline the significance of the date '1642', 1639 being the last previous year in which the King's standard had been raised.<sup>49</sup> The re-issue of the type during 1644 may perhaps relate either to the King's own visit to Exeter late in July, or to his victory over the earl of Essex at Lostwithiel the

<sup>48</sup> See note 1, above.

<sup>49</sup> I owe this suggestion to Michael Sharp.

following month. If, however, a theme of personal celebration is pursued, Vyvyan's baronetcy (3 September) might be relevant here, though the speculative nature of all of the foregoing suggestions must be emphasised.

At both Truro and Exeter, minting evolved from crude beginnings to the production of neat and reasonably well made coins. Most of the '1642' half crowns are of excellent quality, and this accords with their suggested positions in the Exeter sequence. The idea that they were made by machinery is, however, a misconception that should be laid to rest. There is no evidence that any press, rotary or otherwise, was used at Exeter. The die-ratios, the inventory in which upper and lower stamps (even the uncut ones) are distinguished, and the coins themselves bespeak conventional hand-hammered methods. The essential characteristic of machine-made coins is a clear (though not necessarily fully impressed) image, created by a single coining action, but although the '1642' half crowns are well-made, all show traces of the doubling of parts of the image which is caused by repeated blows. The flans are mostly of a good circular shape, not from a cutter punch, but the result of careful hammering of the edges; two (Appendix 6, L22, nos 6 and 7) are distinctly polygonal. Three examples of L28/RCL 1a, the later striking, do have consistent die-axes, (though at 330–340°) but those of five specimens of L22/RCL 1 vary widely (110°, 170°, 180°, 330° and 340°). That the obverse die could be used with normal Exeter reverses speaks for itself.

#### *'Exurgat' money, 1644–5*

Coins of the 'Declaration' type, known to contemporaries as 'Exurgat money', are very rare outside the royal mints of Oxford and Bristol. Their appearance at the other royalist mints is likely, therefore, to have some special significance, though this is not always obvious. Small quantities of half crowns and shillings of this type, with the declaration abbreviated similarly to Bristol coins, were struck at Exeter late in 1644 O.S. and early in 1645. Most dies bear for the first time the mint signature 'Ex'. There seem to have been no royal visits to Exeter late in 1644, but the arrival of the Prince of Wales's court at Barnstaple in June 1645 may be noted.<sup>50</sup>

#### *Die group V: Exeter, 1645*

All but one of the group V dies are reverses, a feature which, while underlining the longevity and reliability of the 'under stamps', suggests equally that the upper stamps must have failed regularly. The dies seized in 1646 comprised equal numbers (twenty three) of upper and lower stamps, which implies that Vyvyan must have retained virtually all of the obverses from his entire operations since 1642 (allowing for the recutting of two, there were twenty six), but that most of the reverses had been destroyed. The long-serving crown obverse, C, in use for up to two years, was finally replaced. Its successor, D, appears to be the same die, abraded and somewhat clumsily re-engraved. The crowns of 1645 are, collectively, numerous, though no one die combination is common. Much of the year's output appears to have consisted of crowns, perhaps as a matter of minting convenience during the final siege.

Of the three privy marks used during 1645, Ex (5), introduced on Exurgat dies at the end of 1644, seems to be the first, since several dies with this mark bear undamaged fleurs of type 2, and the two crown dies were used with obverses C and D. It was followed by re-use of the rose mark (4). There seems no reason to doubt that the completely new Tower mark (6), which takes several forms, was the last. All of its dies bear damaged fleurs and punctuation consisting of colon stops.<sup>51</sup>

Many of the larger 1645 coins and some from 1644 are somewhat dished in shape, with distinctly concave reverses. This feature has been taken previously to indicate the use of

<sup>50</sup> E.A. Andriette, *Devon and Exeter in the Civil War* (Newton Abbot, 1971), p. 140.

<sup>51</sup> For the crowns, D19–D31 (Lockett 12), I have retained the sequence of Cooper's paper (note 1), for simplicity.

machinery, but other factors, such as die-axes and the extent to which double-striking is apparent, negate this suggestion. It is possible, perhaps, that in trying to improve the quality of striking and to extend die life, Vyvyan's moneyer(s) hit on the idea of giving 'form' to the reverse dies – engraving them on a slightly convex surface. This will have reduced the coining load required by assisting metal flow during striking.<sup>52</sup> The concept was not new – it was used for instance on the *sestertii* of early Roman emperors, whose portraits were engraved to give high relief – but it appears not to have been a characteristic of contemporary minting, and would therefore have been distinctly innovatory in its context.

### Postscript: the end of the Exeter mint

There is no obvious explanation for the adoption of the tower privy mark during 1645. A change of location has been mooted, perhaps to the castle, but it may also be noted that at some point during 1645, Vyvyan fell out with the governor, Sir John Berkeley, and was gaoled by him – why or for how long we do not know, though Fairfax cited 'his and his ladyes but speaking civilly of the army' (i.e. of the New Model) and an imprisonment of 'some weeks'; and Vyvyan appears to have been released only when Exeter finally surrendered on 13 April 1646. Vyvyan will have lost control of the mint for its final phase, however long this may have been, so the new mark might relate to this. Certainly, Berkeley had Vyvyan's house searched and his records removed, ensuring their survival, at least in part, since he took them to France after the surrender; Berkeley also seems to have relieved Vyvyan of a substantial sum in goods or money – 'neere to the value of one thousand pounds', and this was the second of Fairfax's grounds for recommending Vyvyan to 'the Parliament's more particular favour' in his letter of 17 April 1646 to the Speaker of the House of Commons asking that Vyvyan be granted the benefit of the Articles of Surrender of Exeter.<sup>53</sup>

The Exeter Articles, which included indemnity for those covered by them for actions relating to 'the unhappy differences between his Majesty and Parliament', were approved in Parliament on 6 May,<sup>54</sup> but before setting off for London to compound under their provisions, Vyvyan seems to have attempted to make his peace locally. Among the Vyvyan papers surviving at Truro is a draft release prepared for Ralph Herman and Vyvyan absolving the latter from all debts and liabilities between them; but a memorandum on the reverse dated 20 June 1646 and signed by Sam: Alford notes

that the within named Mr. Herman refused to seale this release, but acknowledged before me that he would demand nothing from the within named Sr. Richard Vyvyan (except what should be due uppon a certaine bond wch I made between them) for fffitie pounds & od money and that there was noe other thinge depending between them . . .<sup>55</sup>

Herman, despite having had hundreds of ounces of plate taken from him, seems to have adopted a pragmatic view throughout, but others were less forgiving, and Vyvyan had to face several years of lawsuits from Edward Anthony and others, as well as the obstinate refusal of the local committees to honour his entitlement under the Articles of Exeter.<sup>56</sup>

On 23 June, Vyvyan acquired a pass for London and appears to have left almost immediately, presenting his petition to compound under the Exeter Articles at Goldsmiths Hall on the 30th.<sup>57</sup> The mint's tools and dies he left with Samuel Calley, but the local committee lost little time in securing them. Thus Calley to Vyvyan on the 27th:

<sup>52</sup> C.E. Challis, *BNJ* 60 (1990), 178–9.

<sup>53</sup> SP 23/188/796.

<sup>54</sup> See Article XII regarding indemnity. The Exeter articles are printed in full by J. Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, Part IV (1) (1701), pp. 263–5.

<sup>55</sup> CRO, V/EC/3/21.

<sup>56</sup> For details, see Coate, pp. 231–41.

<sup>57</sup> SP 23/188/792 and /789. In London, Vyvyan lodged 'in Coven Garden in Russell Street next doore to the pyatsoe att Mr Lasenbies house' (CRO V/BO/22B(4)); he completed his composition on 19 April 1648 (CRO V/EC/3/59).

... the next day in the morning after your departure there came a warrant from the Committee and seized on all your things that are in my cellar & broke open the box where the stamp[s] are, but what to do in it I know not for they have not taken them away but have left them yet in my custody.<sup>58</sup>

However, the respite was brief: two days later, the tools and dies were taken.

Vyvyan's lawsuits do not fall within the scope of this paper, but without them it is unlikely that he would have recovered the mint books from Berkeley.<sup>59</sup> It must be regretted that Mary Coate did not give more details of the documents that have since been destroyed, but for all the uncertainties, Exeter remains the best-documented of England's Civil War mints. Alone among them, it has even found its way into the realm of fiction, since the transport of plate to the mint at Exeter in 1644 forms a feature of Daphne du Maurier's atmospheric but relatively little-known novel *The King's General*, published in 1946.

## APPENDIX 1: SIR RICHARD VYVYAN'S MINTING COMMISSIONS

### I. Commission under the Great Seal, 14 Nov. 1642 (CRO V/BO/18)

**Charles** by the grace of God Kinge of England Scotland ffrance and Ireland defender of the faith **To Our** trusty and welbeloved Sir Richard Vivian Knight Greeting  
**Knowe Ye** that we have authorized and appointed and by theis p'sent doe authorize and appoint you from time to time during our will and pleasure to coyne or  
 5  
 cause to be coyned at such place or places as you shall think fitting all such bullion or plate of Gold or silver as shalbe delivered unto you by any of our subjects for our use and to make the same with the like stamps and forme as the monies now current in our Realme of England [and such weight and a]llay as is used for those monies, and further to doe in all such  
 10  
 coynage of the said bullion and plate in all things as fully largely and [amply] to all intents and purposes as the Officers of our mynt at our Tower of London law[fully may doe with] such bullion or plate brought to our said mynt to be coyned [ ]  
 is, and we doe hereby authorize appoint and require you [Sir Richard Vivian to pay such] bullyon and plate soe by you[r hand] coyned from time to time [to our trusty and welbeloved] Sir Ralph Hopton Knight of the Bath to whom we have given [direction for] the [use of] the same, for our service **In witnes** whereof we have [caused theis our l'res] to be  
 15  
 made patents **Witnes** our selfe at hampton Courte the [four]teenth day of November in the eighteenth ycare of our reigne.

#### Interpolations:

I.8: reads [ ]llay? = alloy. Vyvyan's second commission (V2): '... to be of the same species weight and goodnesse as our ... moneyers in our said Tower. ...'. Bushell's 1637 indenture for the Aberystwyth mint includes the term 'allay'

I.9–1.10: this precise wording recurs in V2

I.12: similar to phrase in V2

I.13: about the right length: this formula is used at the equivalent point in V2

I.14: Coate (NC 1928.216) gives 'direction for the same', but the phrase is clearly longer, including a second 'the'

I.15: formula as in V2;

I.16: Coate.

<sup>58</sup> CRO, V/BO/22B(2).

<sup>59</sup> Berkeley's price for their return (a release for the goods he had looted?) may be gauged by Vyvyan's reaction: 'I doe hereby testifie and declare that I doe utterly detest and abhorre this unjust paper sent by Sr J: B: out of fraunce and that I am compelled to sign the same for the recoverie of my books and papers for defence of a law suite of 1000 li already commenced against mee and the preventing of other like suites

which without these bookes and papers cannot be done and that I doe expect and will endeavour to have satisfaction for the high injuries done mee. My above bookes and papers Sr J.B. most injuriously and illegally took from mee, and hath ever since detaineyd, and will not restore them unto mee unlesse I signe this detestable paper of his. ...' (CRO V/BO/22B(8)). 'A coppie of what I have endorsed the back side of Sr J:B: paper sent out of fraunce': undated).



## 2. Commission under the Great Seal, 3 January 1644 (CRO V/BO/22A)

**Charles** by the grace of God King of England Scotland France and Ireland defender of the faith **To our trustie** and welbeloved Sir Richard Vivian knight greeting **whereas** our p'sent affaires require the employment of a mynt within our counties of Devon and Cornwall and Cittie of Exon', **Knowe yee** that that wee reposing speciall trust and confidence in your wisdom skill abilities and care in and for that service I doe hereby give you full power and authoritie by your selfe or your sufficient Deputy or Deputyes to erect and sett upp or cause to be erected and sett upp one or more mynt or mynts in such place and places I within our said Countyes of Devon and Cornwall and Cittie of Exon' or in any or either of them as you shall thinke fitt, And to make and engrave or cause to be made and engraven Irons and Stampes with our Effigies Inscriptons and Armes according to our p'sent money in our Tower of London, And therewith to instampe and inprint or cause to be I instamped and imprinted all such Ingotts Bullion and plate of Gold or Silver as shalbe from tyme to tyme brought and delivered unto you or unto any such mynt or mynts I by any our Subjects And the moneys soe made and stamped to be of the same species weight and goodnesse as our foresaid moneys in our said Tower of London are and I ought to be **And wee** doe further by theis p'sent give full power and authoritie to you the said Sir Richard Vyvyan to doe in manner aforesaid all and every such I thing and things in touching and concerning the p'misses, as fully largely and ampie to all intents and purposes as the Officers of our mynt in our said Tower of London I lawfully may doe with Ingotts Bullyon or Plate brought to the mynt there to be coyned, **And wee** doe hereby authorize you the said Sir Richard Vyvyan to I receive for your paynes and charges in coyning all such Ingotts Bullyon and Plate to be soe brought as aforesaid, the small allowances as in our said Tower are I paid, and noe more, without any Accompt to be rendred for the same **And our further** will and pleasure is and wee doe hereby will and require you I the said Sir Richard Vyvyan to pay or cause to be paid, soe much of the said moneys as shalbe made of all such Ingott Bullyon or Plate as shalbe delivered unto you I or your said Deputyes, (or att the said mynt or mynts soe to be erected) by any of our Subjects to our use unto our trustie and welbeloved Sir John Berkley knight or such I other p'son or p'sons as wee shall appoint, hee or they giving unto you upon every such payment a Note of Receipt under his or their hand for so much money as I shalbe paid, which Note or Notes shall be to you a sufficient Discharge against us our heirs and Successors in that behalfe **And our** will and pleasure is I that theis our lres patent shall have continuance during our pleasure **In witness** whereof we have caused theis our lres to be made patent **witnes** I our selfe att Oxford the third day of January in the Nyneteenth yeaere of our Raigne p bre de privato Sigillo **willys**

## APPENDIX 2: THE EXETER MINT BOOKS, 1643

## Account Book 'B', Exeter 1643 (CRO: V/BO/20)

Cover Acquittances for  
plate rec<sup>d</sup> for the  
Kings Use

B B B B

Exon

Exon: 27 ° Septem  
1643

Inside front cover blank

Pages numbered 1 (r) – 8 (v)

(1)

29° Septembris 1643:

Recd by mee S<sup>r</sup> Richard Vyvyan Kn<sup>t</sup>  
from M<sup>r</sup> Christopher Clarke the elder  
Mayor of the Cittie of Exon, eight  
hundred ffifty nine ounces one halfe &  
one quarter of an ounce of white tower  
toucht plate & twenty three ounces and  
one halfe ounce of untoucht plate, I say  
rec<sup>d</sup> for his Ma<sup>ties</sup> use

toucht

859<sup>0Z</sup> <sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>

untoucht

23<sup>0Z</sup> <sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>

delivered in P Bernard Sparke for  
my mar. Chr Clarke thelder

883:  $\frac{1}{4}$ .

30<sup>o</sup> Septem 1643

Rec<sup>d</sup> by mee S<sup>r</sup> Richard Vyvyan Kn<sup>t</sup> from  
Nicholas Brooking of the Cittye of Exon  
merchant one hundred ffifty seaven ounces  
of white Tower toucht plate, and thirteene  
ounces and one quarter of an ounce of guilt  
plate, I say recd to his Ma<sup>ties</sup> use.  
del in by mee Nic: Broking  
*This complete entry deleted*

toucht

157: <sup>02</sup>

guilt 13<sup>02</sup>:  $\frac{1}{4}$

(2) Blank

(3)

30<sup>o</sup> Septembris 1643

Recd by mee S<sup>r</sup> Richard Vyvyan Kn<sup>t</sup>  
from Nicholas Brookinge of the Cittye  
of Exon Merchant two hundred ounces  
of white Tower toucht plate, I say recd  
for his Ma<sup>ties</sup> use \_\_\_\_\_

toucht

200: <sup>02</sup>

deliver- in by mee Nic<sup>o</sup>: Broking

5<sup>to</sup> Octobris 1643

Recd by mee S<sup>r</sup> Richard Vyvyan Kn<sup>t</sup>  
from Henry Waldron Esqr. two hundred  
sixtye fower ounces and one halfe ounce  
of tower toucht plate \_\_\_\_\_

toucht

264: <sup>02</sup>  $\frac{1}{2}$

Deliver in by mee to his Ma<sup>ties</sup> use Henry Walrone

5<sup>to</sup> Octobris 1643

Recd by mee S<sup>r</sup> Richard Vyvyan Kn<sup>t</sup>. from Cap<sup>t</sup>.  
Allen Penny of the Cittye of Exon, three hundred  
thirtye five ounces one halfe, one quarter, and one  
halfe quarter of white tower toucht plate, and  
fifty three ounces and one halfe quarter of untoucht  
plate. I say recd for his Ma<sup>ties</sup> use \_\_\_\_\_

toucht

335: <sup>02</sup>  $\frac{1}{2}$ ;  $\frac{1}{4}$ ;  $\frac{1}{8}$

untoucht

53: <sup>02</sup>  $\frac{1}{8}$

delivred in by mee Alan Penny

(4) (lower half of page, opposite entry for 14 October 1643)

30<sup>g</sup>bris 1643

Recd the day and yeare above sd by mee  
Edward Anthony of Exon Gouldsmith

toucht

seaven hundred twentye six ounces and  
on halfe quarter of an ounce of white  
toucht plate being [parte?] of one thousand  
six hundred ffifty three ounces of toucht  
plate brought in at the Minte by  
John Hunkyn gent. I say recd backe  
by S<sup>r</sup> John Berkeleys direcion  
and warrant. by mee Edward Anthony

726<sup>oz</sup>  $\frac{1}{8}$ 

(5)

7 Octob 1643

Recd by mee S<sup>r</sup> Richard Vyvyan Kn<sup>t</sup>  
from John Hunkyn gent Secretarye  
to S<sup>r</sup> John Berkeley Kn<sup>t</sup> by the  
hande of M<sup>r</sup> Richard Hunkyn one hundred  
and eleaven ounces of t and halfe ounce  
of white tower toucht plate ffortye  
eight ounces and halfe ounce of guilt untoucht plate  
& twentye three ounces one halfe ounce  
one quartre ounce of white untoucht  
plate I say recd to his Ma<sup>ties</sup> use

toucht  
111<sup>oz</sup>  $\frac{1}{2}$   
guilt  
48<sup>oz</sup>  $\frac{1}{2}$   
untoucht  
23<sup>oz</sup>  $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{4}$

D-d in by mee p me Ricard Hunkyn

14<sup>to</sup> Octobris 1643

Recd by me Sir Richard Vyvyan K<sup>t</sup>  
from Sir John Berkeley Kn<sup>t</sup> gov'nor  
of Exon by the hande of John Hunkyn  
one thousand six hundred ffifty three  
ounces and one quarter of an  
ounce of white tower toucht plate  
and ffifty three ounces and an  
halfe quarter of pcell guilt plate  
toucht to his Ma<sup>ties</sup> use

toucht  
1653:  $\frac{1}{4}$

pcell guilt  
53.  $\frac{1}{8}$

John Hunkyn

980.  $\frac{1}{4}$  reste (annotation) This entry in J Hunkyn's hand

(Interleaf between pages 4 and 5, a single sheet:)

S<sup>r</sup> Richard Vyvyan deliver unto M<sup>r</sup> Edward Anthony  
all his plate or the products of it Except  
two hundred fortie fowre pounds six thirtee  
ne shillings & fowre pence w<sup>h</sup> yo<sup>u</sup> are to  
issue forth for his Ma<sup>ties</sup> service[?] Given  
under my hand this 26 of October 1643

John Berkeley

you are alsoe to except out of M<sup>r</sup> Anthonyes plate or the  
product thereof the summe ffowrscore & thirtee pounds  
six shillings & eight pence w<sup>ch</sup> you are to issue out for  
his Ma<sup>ties</sup> service in pt of money lent to his ma<sup>ty</sup> by John  
Bampfild Esq<sup>r</sup>., M<sup>r</sup> Anthony being soe much indebted to  
the sd M<sup>r</sup> Bampfild & ass ? 4<sup>to</sup> November 1643

I consent to this

Edward Anthony      Hugh Hodges

*Endorsement on verso:*

This writinge is to bee delivered to  
none but to Sir Richard Vivian  
Knihte whoe hath a note under  
my hande for it

*(6) Blank**(7)*14<sup>to</sup> 8<sup>bris</sup> 1643

Reced by mee S<sup>r</sup> Richard Vyvyan Kn<sup>t</sup>  
from Robert Duke of Otterton Esqr by the  
hande of William Stephens twentye one  
ounces one quarter and one halfe quarter  
of an ounce of white tower toucht plate  
and twelve ounces, one halfe ounce + one halfe  
quarter of an ounce of gilt toucht plate  
I say recd to his Ma<sup>ties</sup> use \_\_\_\_\_  
delivered by mee Willm Stephens

toucht  
21<sup>oz</sup>  $\frac{1}{4}$ ,  $\frac{1}{8}$

gilt toucht  
12<sup>oz</sup>  $\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $\frac{1}{4}$ ,  $\frac{1}{8}$

14 9<sup>bris</sup>[sic] 1643

Recd by mee S<sup>r</sup> Richard Vyvyan Kn<sup>t</sup>  
from George Westcombe of Lindridge  
Esq<sup>r</sup> sixtye six ounces one halfe one  
quarter of an ounce, and one penny  
weight of gilt toucht plate, and  
twentye eight ounces and one  
quarter of an ounce of white toucht  
plate, I say recd to his Ma<sup>ties</sup> use

gilt  
66<sup>oz</sup>  $\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $\frac{1}{4}$ , d

white toucht  
28<sup>oz</sup>  $\frac{1}{4}$

Deliverd in by mee  
George Westcombe

*(8)*M<sup>r</sup> Bamfields plate

No: 3 1643

Recd from S<sup>r</sup> John Berkeley Kn<sup>t</sup>  
of whit touch plate sodered  
of Gilt touch sodered  
of gilt untouch  
of white untouch

oz  
621-0-0-0-0  
825-0-0-0-0  
31- $\frac{1}{2}$ - $\frac{1}{4}$ -0-0  
14-0- $\frac{1}{4}$ - $\frac{1}{8}$ -0

Oct: 26: 1643

M<sup>r</sup> Herman

oz

Recd from him of white touch

800-0-0-0-0

*(9) (unnumbered) Blank*

Remainder of Book B reads inward from the back cover, which reads:



1643

Receipts for other  
plate brought  
into the minte

Exon

*Inside back cover blank**(pages unnumbered)**(i)*

Exon 1643	Plate recd to coyne for his Maties use by the appointm <sup>t</sup> of S <sup>r</sup> John Berkley Kn <sup>t</sup>			
10 <sup>o</sup> . Octob:	ffrom M <sup>r</sup> Hodges of gilt toucht plate gilt untoucht white toucht white untoucht	0095 <sup>oz</sup> _____ 0036. $\frac{1}{3}$ . _____ 0152. $\frac{1}{3}$ . $\frac{1}{4}$ . _____ 0014.0. $\frac{1}{4}$ . $\frac{1}{8}$ . _____	at 4 <sup>s</sup> -10 <sup>d</sup> . at 4 <sup>s</sup> . 2 <sup>d</sup> . at 4 <sup>s</sup> . 8 <sup>d</sup> . at 4 <sup>s</sup> _____	li s d 0022-19-02. 0007-12-01. 0035-12-10 0002-17-06
29 <sup>o</sup> . Septemb	M <sup>r</sup> Xpofer Clarke Snr of white toucht of white untoucht	0859 <sup>oz</sup> . $\frac{1}{2}$ . $\frac{1}{4}$ .0.0 0023. $\frac{1}{2}$ . _____	at 4 <sup>s</sup> . 8 <sup>d</sup> . at 4 <sup>s</sup> _____	0200-12-02 <sup>d</sup> . 0004-14-00.
30 Septem:	M <sup>r</sup> Nicholas Brooking of white toucht-	0200. _____	at 4 <sup>s</sup> . 8 <sup>d</sup> .	0046-13-04
5 <sup>to</sup> . Octob.	M <sup>r</sup> Henry Waldren of white toucht	0264. $\frac{1}{2}$ . _____	at 4 <sup>s</sup> . 8 <sup>d</sup> .	0061-14-04

*(ii)*

5 <sup>to</sup> . Octob.	M <sup>r</sup> Alan Pennye of white toucht of white untoucht	0335 <sup>oz</sup> . $\frac{1}{2}$ . $\frac{1}{4}$ . $\frac{1}{8}$ . - 0053. 0. 0. $\frac{1}{8}$ . -	at 4 <sup>s</sup> . 8 <sup>d</sup> . at 4 <sup>s</sup> _____	li s d 078-07-05 010-12-06
9 <sup>o</sup> . Octob:	Mr Hunkyn of white toucht- of gilt untoucht- of white untoucht	0111 <sup>oz</sup> . $\frac{1}{2}$ . _____ 0048. $\frac{1}{2}$ . _____ 0023. $\frac{1}{2}$ . $\frac{1}{4}$ . _____	at 4 <sup>s</sup> . 8 <sup>d</sup> . at 4 <sup>s</sup> . 2 <sup>d</sup> . at 4 <sup>s</sup> _____	026-00-04 010-02-01 004-15-00
14 <sup>to</sup> . Octob	Mr Duke of white toucht of gilt toucht	0021.0. $\frac{1}{4}$ . $\frac{1}{8}$ .0- 0012. $\frac{1}{2}$ .0. $\frac{1}{8}$ .0-	at 4 <sup>s</sup> . 8 <sup>d</sup> . at 4 <sup>s</sup> .10 <sup>d</sup> .	li 004-19-09 003-01-00. gr
14 <sup>to</sup> . Octob	M <sup>r</sup> George Westcombe of gilt toucht- of white toucht	0066. $\frac{1}{2}$ . $\frac{1}{4}$ . _____ 0028.0. $\frac{1}{4}$ . _____	at 4 <sup>s</sup> -10 <sup>d</sup> . at 4 <sup>s</sup> . 8 <sup>d</sup> .	016-02-07. ob 006-11-10.
26 <sup>o</sup> Octob	M <sup>r</sup> Ralph Herman of white toucht	0800. _____	at 4 <sup>s</sup> . 8 <sup>d</sup> .	186-13-04

*(iii)*

3 <sup>o</sup> . Novemb:	M <sup>r</sup> Bampfeild of white toucht- of gilt toucht- of gilt untoucht of white untoucht	0621oz _____ 0825 _____ 0031. $\frac{1}{2}$ - $\frac{1}{4}$ _____ 0014.0. $\frac{1}{4}$ . $\frac{1}{8}$ . _____	at 4 <sup>s</sup> . 8 <sup>d</sup> . at 4 <sup>s</sup> . 10 <sup>d</sup> . at 4 <sup>s</sup> . 2 <sup>d</sup> . at 4 <sup>s</sup> _____	li s d 144-18-00 199-07-06 006-12-03. ob 002-17-06
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8 <sup>to</sup> . Januarij	S <sup>r</sup> John Davie Bart of white toucht— of white untoucht of gilt toucht—	0156.0. <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> — 0018 — 0023- <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> —	at 4 <sup>s</sup> . 8 <sup>d</sup> . at 4 <sup>s</sup> — at 4 <sup>s</sup> . 10 <sup>d</sup> —	li s d 036-09-02 003-12-00 005-12-04. ob
22 <sup>o</sup> Ja:	M <sup>r</sup> Walter Tross of gilt toucht	0112. <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> —	at 4 <sup>s</sup> . 10 <sup>d</sup> —	027-03-09
5 <sup>to</sup> ffeb –	M <sup>r</sup> Herman of gilt toucht	0150. —	at 4 <sup>s</sup> . 10 <sup>d</sup> —	036-05-00
	ffrom M <sup>r</sup> Anthony the Gouldsmith in money as p- S <sup>r</sup> John <sup>s</sup> . Order, p- for M <sup>r</sup> Bampfild			338-00-00

(iv)

1643 The totall of the receipts for plate amounting to 1530<sup>li</sup>. 18<sup>s</sup>. 10<sup>d</sup>. ob

pd as ffolloweth		li s d
20 <sup>o</sup> Octob:	to M <sup>r</sup> Hodges as the receipt —	300 -00 -00
1 <sup>o</sup> . Novemb	more to him —	200 -00 -00
3 <sup>o</sup> . Novemb	more to him —	060 -00 -00
19 <sup>o</sup> .	more to him —	250 -00 -00
29 <sup>o</sup> .	more to him —	150 -00 -00
11 <sup>o</sup> . Decemb	to Capt Pennye —	100 -00 -00
24 <sup>to</sup> . Ja: –	to M <sup>r</sup> Colleton —	100 -00 -00
2 <sup>do</sup> . ffeb –	to M <sup>r</sup> Hodges —	100 -00 -00
9 <sup>o</sup> . Martij –	to M <sup>r</sup> Colleton —	050 -00 -00
14 <sup>to</sup> . –	to M <sup>r</sup> Colleton —	050 -00 -00
2 <sup>do</sup> . April <sup>s</sup> –	to S <sup>r</sup> John Berkley as the receipt —	100 -00 -00
	Sum	1460 <sup>li</sup> -00 <sup>s</sup> -00 <sup>d</sup>
Recd	1530 <sup>li</sup> -18 <sup>s</sup> -10 <sup>d</sup> ob	
pd –	1460 -00 -00	
remaines-	0070 <sup>li</sup> -18 <sup>s</sup> -10 <sup>d</sup> . ob	

#### Account Book 'A', Exeter 1643 (CRO: V/BO/21)

Cover Other Plate  
Recd & payed for

A: A:  
A: A:  
Exon

Inside front cover blank

Pages numbered 1 (r.) –12 (v.)

(1)

Notes

Oct: 9: 1643

Offe Prince Maurice

4: 8:	Of white touch —	2299-0-0-0	(£536.08.08)
4: 6q:	Of old touch —	0051-0- <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> -0	(11.17.0 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> )
4: 10:	Of Gilt touch —	0062- <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> -0-0	(15.02.01)

4: 8 <sup>ob</sup>	Of parcell gilt ———	0208-0-0-0	(48.19.04)
4: 0:	Of untouch ———	0218-0- $\frac{1}{2}$ -0	(43.13.00)

10 Oct:

M<sup>r</sup> Hodges

Of Gilt Touch ———	0095-0-0	
Of Gilt untouch ———	0036- $\frac{1}{2}$ -0	
Of white touch ———	0152- $\frac{1}{2}$ - $\frac{1}{4}$	(see Book B)
Of white untouch ———	0004- $\frac{1}{2}$ -0	
Of white untouch ———	0009- $\frac{1}{2}$ - $\frac{1}{4}$ - $\frac{1}{8}$	

1  
3237- $\frac{1}{2}$ -0- $\frac{1}{8}$

(2)

October 21<sup>th</sup> 1643 2044 $\frac{1}{2}$

Recd of M <sup>r</sup> Anthonye		
of white toucht plate	216. $\frac{3}{4}$	(@ 4.8 = 50. 10. 04
of white untoucht ———	360	@ 4.- = 72. 00. 00
of guilt toucht ———	189. $\frac{1}{2}$ . $\frac{1}{4}$	@ 4.10 = 45. 17. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ .
		168. 07. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ )

25<sup>to</sup>. 8<sup>bris</sup> 1643

Recd of M <sup>r</sup> Clerke		
of white tower toucht		
plate at 4 <sup>s</sup> 8 <sup>d</sup>	427. $\frac{1}{4}$ .1 $\frac{1}{8}$	cancelled
25 <sup>to</sup> . pd in full of this 99 <sup>li</sup> . 14 <sup>s</sup> . 5 <sup>d</sup>		
from M <sup>r</sup> Nicho: Hooper		
of white toucht plate	037 <sup>oz</sup> . $\frac{1}{2}$ . $\frac{1}{8}$	
of untoucht ———	013.0. $\frac{1}{4}$	cancelled
pd. in full of Mr Hoopers plate 11 <sup>li</sup> . 8 <sup>s</sup> . 7 <sup>d</sup>		

26<sup>to</sup>

Recd to his Maties use from Ralph		
Herman of Exon Gent, eight hundred	800 <sup>oz</sup>	(This belongs with the
ounces of white toucht plate, att two		acquittances in Book B)
severall times delivred in by G. Knowling		

111<sup>li</sup>. [03.]0<sup>d</sup> 2044.  $\frac{1}{2}$ -0-0

(3)

M<sup>r</sup> Bamfeilds 3<sup>e</sup>. 9<sup>bris</sup> 1643 1997-0  $\frac{1}{4}$   
plate

Sr John Berkley Knt		
Recd from ^ Mr. Hodges of white		(This belongs in Book B)
toucht plate ———	621 <sup>oz</sup>	
of gilt toucht ———	825 <sup>oz</sup>	
of gilt untoucht ———	031. $\frac{1}{5}$ . $\frac{1}{8}$	
of white untoucht ———	014. . $\frac{1}{4}$ . $\frac{1}{8}$	

18 <sup>o</sup> . 9bris 1643		
Recd of Capt Alan Pennyne		
of white toucht	157.0. $\frac{1}{4}$	<i>cancelled</i>
in full pd for this 157 <sup>oz</sup> $\frac{1}{4}$ at 4 <sup>s</sup> . 8 <sup>d</sup> . 36 <sup>li</sup> . 13 <sup>s</sup> . 10 <sup>d</sup>		
1 Bason at 4 <sup>s</sup> . 10 <sup>d</sup>	46. $\frac{1}{2}$ . $\frac{1}{4}$ . $\frac{1}{8}$	(11. 06. 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ )
more of toucht w <sup>tt</sup>	111. $\frac{1}{2}$ . $\frac{1}{4}$	
more	140.0.0. $\frac{1}{8}$	(@ 4.8 = 63. 07. 07)
4 <sup>s</sup> . 8 <sup>d</sup> . more	19. $\frac{1}{2}$ . $\frac{1}{4}$	
more toucht i sugar dish	19. $\frac{1}{2}$ . $\frac{1}{4}$	
4 <sup>s</sup> . 10 <sup>d</sup> . of gilt toucht	029. $\frac{1}{2}$	(07. 02. 07)
36.13 <sup>s</sup> . 10 <sup>d</sup> .	1997. <del><math>\frac{1}{2}</math>. <math>\frac{1}{4}</math>. <math>\frac{1}{8}</math></del>	

(4)

24 <sup>to</sup> 9bris		1409-0-0
Recd in Rialls of Capt Alan Pennyne at 4 <sup>s</sup> . 10 <sup>d</sup> . p- o <sup>z</sup> ———	43. $\frac{1}{2}$ . $\frac{1}{4}$ . $\frac{1}{8}$	cancelled
pd in full of this 10 <sup>li</sup> . 12 <sup>s</sup> . 00		
23 <sup>o</sup> . 9bris		
Recd fro m <sup>r</sup> Bartlett of white toucht at 4 <sup>s</sup> . 9 <sup>d</sup> ———	35 <sup>oz</sup> . $\frac{1}{2}$	cancelled
more att 4 <sup>s</sup> . 8 <sup>d</sup> ———	114. $\frac{1}{2}$	
4 <sup>to</sup> . Decem <sup>s</sup> pd in parte 16 <sup>li</sup>		
23 <sup>o</sup> Decemb. pd in full more 19 <sup>li</sup> . 2 <sup>s</sup> . 11 <sup>d</sup>		
20 <sup>o</sup> 9bris 1543		
Recd of M <sup>r</sup> Lavars of toucht att: 4 <sup>s</sup> . 10 <sup>d</sup> . ———	1030 <sup>oz</sup>	cancelled
pd in p <sup>te</sup> 200 <sup>li</sup> ———		
more pd in full 48 <sup>li</sup> . 18 <sup>s</sup> . 4 <sup>d</sup>		
21 <sup>o</sup>		
Recd of M <sup>r</sup> Anthonye of toucht att 4 <sup>s</sup> . 10 <sup>d</sup> . p- oz ———	162. $\frac{1}{2}$ .	cancelled
more at 4 <sup>s</sup> . 8 <sup>d</sup> . ob ———	022. $\frac{1}{2}$ . $\frac{1}{8}$	
<hr/>		
pd in full of this - 44 <sup>li</sup> . 11 <sup>s</sup> . 11 <sup>d</sup>		
339 <sup>li</sup> - 5 <sup>s</sup> . 2 <sup>d</sup>	1409 ———	

(5)

20 <sup>o</sup> 9bris 1643		
Recd of the Princes steward in plate at 4 <sup>s</sup> . 9 <sup>d</sup> . p- o <sup>z</sup>		
more at 4 <sup>s</sup> . 8 <sup>d</sup> . p- o <sup>z</sup>	101 <sup>oz</sup> 89. $\frac{1}{2}$	<i>cancelled</i>
pd then in full satisfacon of this 47 <sup>li</sup> - 6 <sup>s</sup> . 7 <sup>d</sup> .		
(recte 44. 17. 05)		
28 <sup>o</sup> 9bris		
Recd from M <sup>r</sup> Coltin of white toucht at 4 <sup>s</sup> . 9 <sup>d</sup>		
9. 10bris pd in full 16 - 06 <sup>s</sup> . 6 <sup>d</sup>	68. $\frac{1}{2}$ . $\frac{1}{4}$	<i>cancelled</i>



25<sup>to</sup> 9<sup>bris</sup> 1643

Recd from M<sup>r</sup> Lavars of  
toucht at 4<sup>s</sup>. 10<sup>d</sup> ———  
pd in pte 200<sup>li</sup>.  
more pd in full 17<sup>li</sup>. 10<sup>s</sup>.

900<sup>oz</sup>

*cancelled*

1<sup>o</sup>. 10<sup>bris</sup>. 1643

Of Peter Sainthill Esqr  
of toucht plate—  
delivered backe all, except the  
2 flaggons weying 101.<sup>1/8</sup>

*[illeg. deleted]*

(@ 4.8 = 23. 11. 04)

281<sup>li</sup> - 03<sup>s</sup> - 01<sup>d</sup> (*down l. margin*)

1270. <sup>1/4</sup>. <sup>1/8</sup> (*boxed, r. margin*)

(6)

2<sup>do</sup>. 10<sup>bris</sup> 1643

Recd of M<sup>r</sup> Tho: and Peter  
Atkins of white toucht plate -  
of gilt toucht ———  
of white untoucht ———

45oz. <sup>1/2</sup>. <sup>1/4</sup>. <sup>1/8</sup>  
16.0. <sup>1/4</sup>. <sup>1/8</sup>  
14.0.0.0

(@ 4.8 = 10. 14. 01)  
(@ 4.10 = 03. 19. 1 <sup>1/4</sup>)  
(@ 4.- = 02. 16. 00)  
(17. 09. 2 3/4)

2<sup>do</sup>. 10<sup>bris</sup>. 1643

Recd of M<sup>r</sup> Augustine Drake  
of white toucht plate ———  
of gilt toucht plate ———  
of untoucht plate ———

160<sup>oz</sup>. <sup>1/2</sup>. <sup>1/8</sup>.  
042.0-0-  
008. <sup>1/2</sup>.

(@ 4.8 = 37 09. 07)  
(@ 4.10 = 10. 03. 00)  
(@ 4.- = 01. 14. 00)

2<sup>do</sup>. 10<sup>bris</sup>. 1643

Recd of M<sup>r</sup> Bartlett in Ryalls at 4<sup>s</sup>. 10<sup>d</sup>. - 200<sup>oz</sup>  
pd in pte 25<sup>li</sup>  
more pd. in full 23<sup>li</sup>. 6. 8.

*cancelled*

487 - <sup>1/4</sup>. <sup>1/8</sup>

48<sup>li</sup>. 6. 8<sup>d</sup>

(7)

2<sup>do</sup>. 10<sup>bris</sup> 1643

Recd of M<sup>r</sup> Humphry Coggins of  
Tiverton of white toucht plate -  
of gilt toucht plate ———

60<sup>oz</sup>. <sup>1/2</sup>.  
13. j<sup>d</sup>

(@ 4.8 = 14. 02. 04)  
(@ 4.10 = 03. 03. 01)

2<sup>do</sup>. 10<sup>bris</sup> 1643

Recd of M<sup>r</sup> Anthonye of white  
toucht at 4<sup>s</sup>. 8<sup>d</sup>. ob ———  
6<sup>th</sup> pd in pte 50<sup>li</sup>

412. <sup>1/4</sup>

(@ 4.8 <sup>1/2</sup> = 97. 01. 00)

2<sup>do</sup> 1643

Recd of M<sup>r</sup> Walker of toucht at  
 4<sup>s</sup>. 10<sup>d</sup> p- oz —————  
 of toucht at 4<sup>s</sup>. 9<sup>d</sup> —————  
 pd in full 22<sup>li</sup>. 5<sup>s</sup>

50<sup>oz</sup>. 1/2  
 55.

*cancelled*  
*(recte 25. 05. 04)*

72<sup>li</sup> - 5<sup>s</sup>591: 1/4. j<sup>d</sup>

(8)

Recd in Ryalls of John Spillar  
 at 4<sup>s</sup>. 9<sup>d</sup> p- oz —————  
 pd in full therof —41. 4<sup>s</sup>. 1<sup>d</sup>.

173<sup>oz</sup>

*cancelled*  
*(41. 01. 09)*

9<sup>o</sup>. 10<sup>bris</sup> 1643

Recd of M<sup>r</sup> Lavars of toucht at  
 4<sup>s</sup>. 10<sup>d</sup>. —————  
 pd in full 169<sup>li</sup>. 17<sup>s</sup>. 2<sup>d</sup>.

677<sup>oz</sup>

*cancelled*  
*(163. 12. 02)*

Recd of M<sup>r</sup> Bartlett of  
 toucht at —————

200<sup>oz</sup>*cancelled*12<sup>o</sup>. pd in pte 25<sup>li</sup>.15 pd in full more 22<sup>li</sup>. 18<sup>s</sup>. 4<sup>d</sup>*(This paid at 4<sup>s</sup>. 9 1/2)*11<sup>o</sup>. 10<sup>bris</sup>

Recd of Capt Allan Pennyne  
 of white toucht plate ———  
 of white untoucht ———

24<sup>oz</sup>  
 10<sup>oz</sup>. 1/2

*(@ 4.8 = 05. 12. 00)*  
*(@ 4. = 02. 02. 00)*

258<sup>li</sup>. 19<sup>s</sup> - 7<sup>d</sup>.

1084: 1/2.

(9)

12<sup>o</sup>. 10<sup>bris</sup>

Recd of M<sup>r</sup> Anthonye  
 of white toucht at 4<sup>s</sup>. 8<sup>d</sup>.

113<sup>oz</sup>. 1/2*(26. 09. 08)*12<sup>o</sup> 10<sup>bris</sup> 1643

Recd of Capt Allan Pennyne  
 of white toucht plate ———  
 delivered backe Capt Pennyne of  
 this p-cell 16<sup>oz</sup>. 1/4  
 more — 03. -0-

75. 1/2. 1/4. 1/8

*(leaves 35. 1/2. 1/4. 1/8)*  
*(@ 4.8 = 08. 07. 05)*

19<sup>o</sup>. more delivered go<sup>rs</sup>. wife -20<sup>oz</sup>. 1/2. 1/4*(uncoined)*15<sup>o</sup>. Decembris 1643

Recd of M<sup>r</sup> John Vicary of  
 white toucht at 4<sup>s</sup>. 8<sup>d</sup> p- oz  
 of untoucht white at 4<sup>s</sup> —

189. 1/2. 1/4  
 003. 1/2. 1/4. 1/8.

*cancelled*pd then in pte of this 20<sup>li</sup>pd 21<sup>th</sup>. in full of this- 25. 1<sup>s</sup> —————45<sup>li</sup>. 1<sup>s</sup>

383

(10)

15<sup>to</sup> 10<sup>bris</sup>. 1643

Recd of M <sup>r</sup> Ralph Ferchild[?] of Tiverton of white toucht- plate at 4 <sup>s</sup> . 8 <sup>d</sup> p- oz	31 <sup>oz</sup> . $\frac{1}{4}$ . $\frac{1}{8}$	<i>cancelled</i> (sic)
of white untoucht at 4 <sup>s</sup> . p- oz	05. $\frac{1}{2}$ . $\frac{1}{4}$ . j <sup>d</sup>	
pd in full of this 8 <sup>li</sup> . 9 <sup>s</sup> . 5 <sup>d</sup> .		(08. 09. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ )

15<sup>to</sup>. Decembris 1643

Recd of Thomas Horwood of Barnestaple gent of white tower toucht plate	141 <sup>oz</sup> . $\frac{1}{2}$ . $\frac{1}{4}$	<i>cancelled</i>
more recd of him of other toucht plate at 4 <sup>s</sup> . 10 <sup>d</sup> -	061. $\frac{1}{4}$ . $\frac{1}{8}$	
more recd of him at 4 <sup>s</sup> . 9 <sup>d</sup> . ob. amounting to 52 <sup>li</sup> . 2 <sup>s</sup> .	017. $\frac{1}{2}$	
itt 21 <sup>o</sup> . December 1643 pd in full of this 52 <sup>li</sup> . 2 <sup>s</sup> .		

16<sup>to</sup> Decembris

Recd of Capt Allan Pennye by the hande of M <sup>r</sup> John Godard of white toucht plate	41 <sup>oz</sup> . $\frac{1}{4}$	(@ 4.8 = 09. 12. 06)
60 <sup>li</sup> . 11 <sup>s</sup> . 5 <sup>d</sup> . 299 - j <sup>d</sup>		

(11)

16<sup>to</sup> Decembris 1643

Recd of Robert Walker Esqr of white toucht plate at 4 <sup>s</sup> . 10 <sup>d</sup> . p- oz	204 <sup>oz</sup> . $\frac{1}{2}$ . $\frac{1}{8}$ .	
more recd of other plate at 4 <sup>s</sup> . 9 <sup>d</sup> .	138. $\frac{1}{8}$	
more then recd of him at 4 <sup>s</sup> . 9 <sup>d</sup> .	064. $\frac{1}{2}$ . $\frac{1}{4}$	<i>cancelled</i>
21 <sup>o</sup> 10ber pd in full of this 97 <sup>li</sup> . 10 <sup>s</sup> . 10 <sup>d</sup> .		

18<sup>o</sup>

Recd of M <sup>r</sup> Bartlett at 4 <sup>s</sup> . 10 <sup>d</sup> -	40 <sup>oz</sup>	
more recd at 4 <sup>s</sup> . 8 <sup>d</sup>	160.	<i>cancelled</i>
pd then in pte 25 <sup>li</sup>		
23 <sup>o</sup> Decem pd in full of this more — 22 <sup>li</sup> -		

19<sup>o</sup>

Recd of M <sup>r</sup> Lavars at 4 <sup>s</sup> . 10 <sup>d</sup>	330 <sup>oz</sup>	
more recd	169. $\frac{1}{2}$ -	<i>cancelled</i>
23 <sup>o</sup> . Decemb pd in full   20 <sup>li</sup> . 16 <sup>s</sup> . 8 <sup>d</sup>		(recte 120. 14. 03)
265 <sup>li</sup> . 07 <sup>s</sup> 6 <sup>d</sup>	1106. $\frac{1}{2}$ . $\frac{1}{4}$	

(12)

20. 10<sup>bris</sup> 1643Recd of M<sup>r</sup> Robert Clearke

of white toucht plate at 4 <sup>s</sup> . 8 <sup>d</sup> .	391 <sup>oz</sup> . $\frac{1}{2}$ . $\frac{1}{4}$ .	
p- <sup>oz</sup> —————		
of untoucht plate at 4 <sup>s</sup>	007. — $\frac{1}{8}$	<i>cancelled</i>
pd then in pte 40 <sup>li</sup>		
29 <sup>o</sup> 10bris 1643 pd M <sup>r</sup> Clearke more of this 30 <sup>li</sup>		
3 <sup>o</sup> . Jan 1643 pd in full of this 22 <sup>li</sup> . 16 <sup>s</sup> . 8 <sup>d</sup> —		
92 <sup>li</sup> . 16 <sup>s</sup> . 8 <sup>d</sup>	398 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{8}$	

*Following page has been torn out*

*Remainder of book reads from back cover inwards*

*Back Cover*      Exon / 1643  
                       Plate received to the  
                       Kings Use  
  
                       Exo (+ calculations)

*Inside back cover blank*

*Pages unnumbered*

(i)

Sept: 29: 1643

Of M<sup>r</sup> Christopher Clarke Mayor  
 of Exon to the Kings Use

(*acquittance, Bk B p.1*)

Of white toucht —————	859 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{4}$
Of white untoucht —————	023 $\frac{1}{2}$ 0

30 Septembris 1643

Of M<sup>r</sup> Nicholas Broking of  
 white toucht plate ———

200<sup>oz</sup>.

(*Book B, p.3*)

5<sup>to</sup>. Octobris 1643

Of Henrye Waldron Esqr  
 of white toucht plate ———

264<sup>oz</sup>.

(*Book B, p.3*)

5<sup>to</sup>. Octobris 1643

Of Captaine Alan Pennye  
 of white toucht plate---  
 of white untoucht ———

335<sup>oz</sup>.  $\frac{1}{2}$ .  $\frac{1}{4}$ .  $\frac{1}{8}$   
 053: 0: 0:  $\frac{1}{8}$

(*book B, p.3*)

(ii) *Blank*

(iii)

2<sup>o</sup>. Octobris 1643

Of M<sup>r</sup> Gibbins of Exon of  
 white toucht plate for his  
 Maties use—

029<sup>oz</sup>. 0:  $\frac{1}{4}$ :

(@ 4.8 = 06. 16.06,  
 but not in Book B)



9<sup>o</sup>. 8bris 1643

Of M <sup>r</sup> John Hunkyn for his	
Mat <sup>ies</sup> use of white toucht	111 <sup>oz.</sup> $\frac{1}{2}$ .
of guilt —————	048. $\frac{1}{2}$
of white untoucht ———	023. $\frac{1}{2}$ , $\frac{1}{4}$ .

(Book B, p.5)

14 <sup>to</sup> 8bris H 1643 of M <sup>r</sup> John Hunkyn for his Mat <sup>ies</sup> use.	
of white toucht —————	358 <sup>oz.</sup> $\frac{1}{2}$ .
more —————	382. $\frac{1}{2}$ , $\frac{1}{4}$
more —————	390
more —————	469
of pcell gilt toucht —	053 — $\frac{1}{8}$

(from E. Anthony, see  
Book B, p.5, etc.) $\frac{1}{4}$ ,  $\frac{1}{8}$ 

(iv) Blank

## APPENDIX 3: THE EXETER MINT EQUIPMENT, 1646

Samuel Calley's particular of goods seized by the Exeter Committee, 29 June 1646 (Public Record Office, SP 23/127/31):

A particuler of the Goods of Sir Richard Vyvyan  
seized upon by order from the Comittee of Exiter  
June the xxix th 1646

Imprimis Twenty fower Glass Bottles  
ellevn nests of potts  
one iron scull  
five Iron potts great and small  
one double Ingott  
Fower Old irons  
two bolts one Iron Candlesticke  
three chizells  
one Brass plate  
two copper dishes and two copper panns  
one iron plate for nayling  
five under stamps not cutt  
six iron rings  
five flating anvills  
six upper stamps not cutt  
one hamer more  
one box of smale punchins and tooles  
one pr of tongs one hamer for rounding  
one pr of Brandirons  
two pr of tongs  
Eight hand hamers  
three under sledge stamps  
six pr of shears for clipping 4 great and 2 smale  
three rings to make teasts  
twenty three under stamps  
twenty three upper stamps

The vawew of the above said Goods  
Amounting to the sme of fifteene pounds

Ri<sup>d</sup>. Vyvyan

[last three lines in Vyvyan's hand]

# APPENDIX 4: PERSONS NAMED IN SIR RICHARD VYVYAN'S EXETER MINT ACCOUNT BOOKS, 1643, OR OTHERWISE RELATED TO VYVYAN'S MINTING OPERATIONS IN EXETER

## ANTHONY, Edward

1591–1667; goldsmith; resident of St Petrock's, Exeter [MS]; Bailiff, 1633; Joint Treasurer (with W. Bartlett) of the Parliamentary defence fund in Exeter, 1643, during which time he received £4,097.11.01d in 'moneys and plate' after allowing for a loss of £367.12.7d on the plate [Stoyle, p. 47]; appointed to receive money collected by agents and collectors of sequestrations in east and south Devon, 13 Sept. 1649 [CCCCI, p. 162]; will 3 January 1667, proved 13 August 1667 [Chanter, p. 451].

## ANTHONY, Mrs Hanna

d. 1658; sister-in-law of E. Anthony [Coate, pp. 225–6]; 'Shipp – rate': 4s. 6d. paid in St Olave's parish, 1 March 1639 [Brushfield, p. 264]; and see Coate, pp. 225–6 for Vyvyan's use of her house, perhaps as premises for the mint.

## ATKINS, Thomas and Peter

?of Tiverton: Peter, son of Thomas Atkins baptised 11 December 1614 at Halberton, 4 miles E. of Tiverton; a Peter Atkins churchwarden at Tiverton, 1643 and will, 1657 [inf. Alan Voce, quoting International Genealogical Index and Martin Dunsford, *Historical Memoirs of Tiverton*, 1792].

## BAMPFIELD, John

A John Bampfield of Poltimore, Esq was appointed by the King to the Devon Commission of the Peace, early in 1643, but purposely omitted from the Commission of May 1643; he was finally pardoned by the King in December 1643 [MS].

## BARTLETT, William

d. 1646; goldsmith, first mention 1597; resident of St Mary Major, Exeter [MS]; Bailiff 1615 [Chanter, pp. 449–50]; buried St Mary's Major 10 November 1646 [ibid.]; Joint Treasurer with E. Anthony of defence fund, 1643, accounting for the receipt of £361.19.10d of plate received – true value for a nominal £427.10.08d [Stoyle, p. 47].

## BERKELEY, Sir John

d. 1678; of Bruton, Somerset, courtier; in 1642 joined the Marquis of Hertford at Sherborne, then to Cornwall as commissary-general under Hopton; C-in-C of royalist forces in Devonshire, 1643; Royalist Governor of Exeter, 1643–6; after surrender, to Paris; in 1647, involved with Ashburnham in negotiations for the restoration of the King; [etc., see *DNB* ii, pp. 361–4].

## BROKING, Nicholas

d. 1666; Merchant; resident of St Olave's, Exeter, 1642 [MS]; Bailiff, 1641, 1647; Mayor, 1655; 'Shipp – rate': 10s. in St Olave's Parish, 1 March 1639 [Brushfield, p. 264].

## CALLEY, Samuel (the elder)

d. 1683?; goldsmith, mentions 1645–1673; Freeman of the City 22 July 1645 [Coate, p. 225]; Bailiff 1667; token-issuer 1660s [W.94]; [Fry, p. 40, lists two administrations for 'Samuel Calley', in 1683 and 1690].

*name also spelt variously Calle [on his token], Cawley, Cawly, Cowley. In letters to Vyvyan, 1646, he appears to sign himself Callee or Calley [CRO V/BO/22B(2), (4)].*

## CLARKE, Christopher the Elder

Bailiff, 1638; Mayor, 1642; Parliamentary Commissioner for Devon, 1642; 'Shipp-rate' 15s. in St Olave's Parish, 1 March 1639 [Brushfield, p. 264].

CLEARKE, Robert

A 'Robert Clarke, yeoman' was present in Exeter during the siege of June–September 1643 [Stoyle, pp. 28–9, 53] and appears to have been a man of some substance.

COGGINS, Humphry, of Tiverton

A Humphry Coggan, churchwarden at Tiverton, 1636; ? son of Humphry Coggan, mercer, buried in St. Peter's Tiverton, 1632 [inf. A. Voce, quoting M. Dunsford, *Historical Memoirs of Tiverton*, 1792].

COLLETON, John

Merchant [Stephens, p. 43]; Bailiff, 1637; Mayor, 1645; 'Shipp – rate': 10s. in St Olave's Parish, 1 March 1639 [Brushfield, p. 264]; appointed to a royalist committee 'for the raising of some considerable sum for his Majestic's service', October 1643 [MS]; later, Lt.-Colonel [MS]; compounded on Exeter Articles, 24 June 1646; fine at 1/10, £244, 5 August 1646 [CCC II, p. 1356]; assessed at £200, 11 May 1647; petition 14 February 1651, that he has long since compounded on Exeter articles; assessment discharged the same day [CAM II, p. 805]; pass for John Colleton to Holland, 2 August 1650 [CSPD 1650, p. 553 (I 111.14)].

DAVIE, Sir John, Bt.

c. 1589–1654; of Creedy (in Sandford and of Crediton); Exter Coll. Oxford; MP for Tiverton, 1621–2; Sheriff of Devon, 1629–30; Baronet, 2 September 1641; 'appears to have been a turncoat' [MS]; (Parliamentary) Commissioner for Devon, 1642 [Jenkins, p. 154]; but also named on the King's Commission of Array for Devon, August 1642 [see Appendix to Hopton's *Bellum Civile* for text]; compounded on Exeter Articles 'for delinquency in acting for the King as a Commissioner for levying money for maintenance of his army', 10 July 1646; fine at 1/10, £800, 5 August 1646 [CCC II, p. 1388]; buried 13 October 1654 [Cokayne, *Complete Baronetage* (1900–09), II, pp. 143–4].

(son, 2nd Bt., also Sir John, 1612–78; succeeded October 1654; MP for Tavistock, May–December 1661)

DRAKE, Augustine

[I: Tucker; Master of Company of Weavers, Fullers and Shearmen of Exeter, 1617; d. 1641].

II: d. 1646; son of I; merchant and serge exporter; resident of St Mary Steps, Exeter [MS]; in 1642 added £10 to his father's £50 left to the Company of W, F and S ('Drake's Charity'); appears to have been a royalist sympathiser [MS]; [both Joyce Youngs, *Tucker's Hall Exeter* (Exeter 1968), pp. 82, 137].

DUKE, Robert, of Otterton

c. 1601–1665; served in the Parliamentary army during 1642–3 and is known to have been in Exeter during the siege of June–September 1643 [MS] (= 'Major Duke', Stoyle pp. 17–18?); appears on lists of justices in 1647 and 1654; sheriff 1658 [J.J. Alexander, 'An Otterton Notebook', *TDA* 50 (1918), at p. 500, also for dates].

FERCHILD, Ralph, of Tiverton

(Not traced)

GIBBINS, Mr, of Exeter

?John Gibbons, haberdasher, of St George, Exeter; certificate that he has not been sequestered or proceeded against for delinquency, 27 April 1652 [CCC V, p. 3259]; or ?Richard Gibbons, merchant, of Exeter [MS].

HAWKES, Thomas

d. c. 1646; clerk of the Exeter mint [Coate, pp. 227–8]; the word 'Hawkes' appears faintly among various annotations on the cover of Mint book B.

## HERMAN, Ralph

d. 1662 [Chanter]; goldsmith, first mention 1618; resident of St Martin's, Exeter; Bailiff, 1632; Sheriff, 1646 [Chanter]; Mayor, 1648, 1652; Will, 25 July 1661 [Jenkins, p. 326], proved 15 Apr. 1662 [Chanter, pp. 450–1]; was appointed one of the chief collectors of the money gathered in Exeter 'for the necessarie defence of the Kingdoms of England and Ireland' in July 1642 [MS]; elected to the royalist Committee for raising money for the King's service, October 1643 [MS].

## HODGES, Hugh

Attorney, of Sherborne, Dorset; Deputy Treasurer of the royalist Western army; 23 April 1646, compounds for delinquency: 'was first in service under the Marquis of Hertford, and was servant and clerk to the treasurer of his army. After the army was delivered up to Prince Maurice, continued in his post till November twelve months, when he deserted' – 20 August, fine £200 [CCC II, p. 1200]; 11 May 1647, 'Hugh Hodges . . . . late attorney of Common Pleas' assessed at £150 – 18 May 1649, to be sequestered for non-payment – 21 November 1649, assessment discharged, 'he having paid 26l. 8s. 0d in the country, and being much in debt' [CAM II, p. 810].

## HOOPER, Nicholas

?Rev. Nicholas Hooper of Oxford, Rector of St Edmund's, Exeter, 1632 – , sequestered by order of Parliament, October 1642; a royalist [MS]; d. before the Restoration [W.J. Harte, *TDA* 69 (1937), 41–72 at p. 61].

## HORWOOD, Thomas, of Barnstaple

Gentleman.

## HUNKYN, John

Gentleman; Secretary to Sir John Berkeley; a 'Lt-Colonel Hunkins' was made royalist governor of Tiverton Castle in October 1645 [MS, quoting BL Thomason E264 (25), 1 October 1645] and may be the same man, or Richard Hunkyn; this new governor was apparently put out of his post and deserted to Parliament [MS – BL Thom. E 305 (16)]; a John Hunkyn of Liskeard, gent., begged to compound, 18 June 1650, not being sequestered, for delinquency in the late wars; fine at 1/6, £1.6s.8d, 22 October [CCC III, p. 2375 and Coate, *Cornwall*, p. 371].

## LAVERS, John, senior

Goldsmith, mentioned between 1625 and 1656; resident of St Mary Major, Exeter [MS]; Bailiff, 1641; a wartime royalist, he possessed extensive lands in St David's parish [MS]; compounded on Exeter Articles for delinquency in bearing arms against Parliament, 14 July 1646; fine at 1/10, £152, 22 July [CCC II, p. 1398]; assessed 11 May 1647 at £100; assessment discharged, 13.4.1650, he having compounded at Goldsmiths Hall on Exeter articles [CAM II, p. 820]; buried at St David's 30 January 1672? [Kent].

## MAURICE, Prince

1620–1652; third son of Frederick V, Elector Palatine and Elizabeth, daughter of James I of England; Lieutenant-General in the West under the Marquis of Hertford, 1643, present at many engagements; captured Exeter (4 September) and Dartmouth (6 October); resigned western command in December 1644 when commissioned Major-General of Worcs, Salop, Herefordshire and Monmouth; in Oxford at final surrender, thence to Holland, July 1646; subsequently a royalist privateer; lost at sea on West Indian expedition, 1652 [DNB xiii, pp. 95–97].

## PENNY(E), Alan, Captain

d. 1664 or 65; merchant, of St Martin's parish; Bailiff, 1636; Mayor 1664, died in office; '1636 Aug 16. Paid Jo: Seriant a Topsham carrier for bringing up a Quarter of Mr Alan Pennies Newcastle coal . . . . Aug 18 Paid Mr Allan Penny, in Southernhay vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup> for the abovesaid Quarter of Seacole . . . .' [Brushfield, p. 226]; 'Alan Penny suspected to be an ill-affected person to the peace of this City and endeavouring to labour others to do the same . . .', committed to gaol, 8 December 1642 [ERO Sessions of the Peace, Bk 64,



f.24, quoted by Andriette, p. 178]; elected to the Council of 24 (Exeter's governing body) in September 1644, attending all meetings, 21 September 1644 – 25 February 1645, missed meetings of 11 March, 17 April and 20, 22 May (absent from city?), thereafter attended 80% of meetings from 14 June until surrender in April 1646 [MS]; on 20 September 1644, directed with townclerk to 'attend the commissioners for the associated counties' concerning the rehousing of almspeople ejected from their homes' [MS]; treasurer of royalist 'Western Association' later in the war [MS]; commanded a company in Exeter during the siege of 1645–6 [MS]; to France following the city's surrender [MS]; an Allen Penny begged to compound on Exeter Articles for delinquency: 'was there whilst it was a garrison for the King', 27 June 1646; petition renewed 14 April 1649; fine at 1/6, £122.4.2d, 9 July; reduced to 1/10, £87.16.8d, 9 August 1649 [CCC II, p. 1368].

SAINTHILL, Peter

1593–1648; of Bradninch, JP [MS]; MP for Tiverton, 1640–, in the Short and Long Parliaments; disabled January 44; a Commissioner of Array in 1642 and a royalist excise commissioner in 1644 [MS]; a leading light of the royalist party through much of the war [MS]; the King stayed at Bradninch, 27 July 1644; exiled in Italy 1646, died 12 August 1648 at Leghorn [F.B. Troup, *TDA* 21 (1889), 417–18, quoting R. Sainthill, *An Olla Podrida* (London, 1844), i., pp. 298–9].

SPILLAR, John

(Not traced)

TROSSE, Walter

of Feniton; information laid that he 'set forth a man, horse and arms in the troop of Capt. Wm Isaac, who commanded for the King', noted 'proof not full' [CAM III, p. 1353].

VICARY, John

?of Adrington; Administration, 1651 [Fry, p. 196].

VYVYAN, Sir Richard, Bt.

c. 1613–1665; of Trelowarren, Cornwall; educ. Exeter Coll., Oxford (matric. and B.A., 20 June 1631); knighted 1 March 1636 [J. Foster, *Alumni Oxoniensis* (1892), IV, p. 1548]; MP for Penryn, April 1640 and for Tregony, November 1640; disabled January 1644; commissioned Colonel of Foot, Hundred of Powder, 1 August 1642 [CRO V/BO/4]; commissioned to coin, 14 November 1642 [V/BO/18], expanded to take in the Exeter operation, 3 January 1644 [V/BO/22A]; commissioned Captain of Denis Head fort, Helford, Cornwall, 19 February 1644 [V/BO/6]; attended Oxford Parliament, January 1644; cr. Baronet at Boconnoc, 3 September 1644 [warrant, V/BO/7; letters patent, 12 January 1645, V/BO/9]; begs to compound on Exeter articles, 30 June 1646; proceedings stayed; fine at 1/10: £600, with £98 allowed for debts, personal estate to be restored, 8 October; complains that certain iron ware & other goods have been seized, 8 November [CCC II, p. 1190]; etc., see Coate, *passim*; after Restoration, a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber and Governor of St. Mawes Castle [13 July 1660, V/BO/10]; MP for St Mawes 17 March 1663; d. 3 October 1665; buried in church of St. Mawgan-in-Meneage (Lizard, Cornwall).

WALKER, Robert

c. 1597–1673; merchant; Governor of the Company of Merchants of Exeter trading to France, 1636 [Stephens, pp. 43–4]; Bailiff, 1633; Mayor, 1639; 'Shipp-rate' 15s. in St. Olave's, 1 March 1639 [Brushfield, p. 265]; MP for Exeter in Short and Long Parliaments, disabled 1643; attended Oxford Parliament, January 1644; compounded on Exeter Articles 'for delinquency in retiring from the House of Commons ... and contributing 40 l. to the King's service', 30 April 1646; fine at 1/10, £889, 28 December 1647 [CCC II, p. 1259]; assessed 11 May 1647 at £500, discharged 13 April 1650, same reason as Lavers [CAM II, p. 820].

WALROUND, Henry

of Bradfield, Esq.? [MS]; Parliament Commissioner for Devon, 1643 [Jenkins, p. 154]; appointed to Parliamentary Committee for raising money in Devon, August 1643 [MS]; pardoned by the King for his

rebellion, 9 September 1643 [MS]; appointed to Committee of Devon, 13 September 1649 [CCC I. p. 153].

#### WESTCOMBE, George

of Lin(d)ridge, Esq.; connected with Exeter? [MS]; a gentleman of this name contributed 15s 6d to the collection made in St Petrocks, Exeter, for the defence of the Kingdom, July 1642 [MS]; placed on the Devon Commission of the Peace by King Charles I, 24 November 1643 [MS]; compounded for delinquency in adhering to the King's forces; fine at 1/6, £216, 5 July 1649 [CCC III, p. 1946]; assessed 1 September 1651 at £80, discharged 22 January 1652, having paid £40 in the country and £10 as ordered on 9 January 1652 [CAM].

The following also appear in the mint books, being the names of persons bringing parcels of plate on behalf of the individual indicated:

GODARD, John (A. Penny): of Tiverton? – a John Goddard mentioned as a 'new discovery', sequestrable but not compounded, 13 November 1651 [CCC I, p. 502]; a John Goddard of Tiverton, token-issuer 1657 [W.322], d.1663, 'sometime Maior of this Borough' [note in Williamson to the Goddard token].

HUNKYN, Richard (J. Hunkyn): see above, under J. Hunkyn.

KNOWLING, G. (R. Herman): George Knowling, apprentice to Herman; goldsmith, d.1675 [Kent].

SPARKE, Bernard (Chr. Clarke): servant to Clarke?

STEPHENS, William (R. Duke): a man of this name served in Capt. Thomas Ford's company during the parliamentary defence of Exeter in 1643 [Stoye, pp. 9, 12, 14, 16].

#### *Authorities cited*

Andriette = E.A. Andriette, note 50 above.

Brushfield = T.N. Brushfield, note 20 above.

CAM = *Calendar of the Proceedings of the Committee for Advance of Money 1642–1652*, edited by M.E. Green (1888), Parts I–III.

CCC = *Calendar of the Proceedings of the Committee for Compounding, &c., 1643–1660*, 5 volumes, edited by M.A.E. Green (1890).

Chanter = J.F. Chanter, note 21 above.

Coate = Mary Coate, note 1 above.

Coate, *Cornwall* = Mary Coate, *Cornwall in the Great Civil War and Interregnum* (Oxford, 1933).

Fry = E.A. Fry, *Calendars of Wills and Administrations relating to the Counties of Devon and Cornwall* (Plymouth, 1908).

Jenkins = A. Jenkins, *Civil and Ecclesiastical History of the City of Exeter and its Environs* . . . , 2nd Edition (Exeter, 1841).

Kent = T.A. Kent, note 4 above.

Stephens = W.B. Stephens, *Seventeenth-Century Exeter: a study of Industrial and Commercial Development* (Exeter, 1958).

MS = information supplied by Mark Stoye, January and July 1992.

Stoye = Mark Stoye, note 16 above.

W. = G.C. Williamson, *Trade Tokens issued in the Seventeenth Century* (1889); Devonshire tokens: Vol. I, pp. 129–62.

## KEY TO APPENDIX 5

*Privy marks*

1

2a

2b

3

4

5=Ex

6=Tower, several forms

*Lettering*1. **CHRISTO A**

4.=3, with replacement H

2. **CHRISTO A**

5. =small set, 1644

3. **CHRISTO A**6. **CHRISTO A***Punctuation*

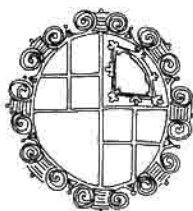
1, 2, 4=number of pellets; 3a=semicolon, comma above; 3b=semicolon, comma below

*Shields*

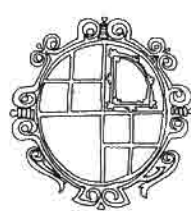
1



2



3 (type)



4 (type)



5

*Harps*

1



2



C3



H3



4



5

(6=small harp, 1644)

*Lys*

1



2



2'



3

*Scots lions*

H1



H2



C1



C2



3



4

*English lions*

1



2



3



3'

(General: x=Punch found only on this die; s=Small punch, not further classified)

## APPENDIX 5: CLASSIFICATION OF THE DIES OF THE TRURO-EXETER SERIES

		<i>p.m.</i>	<i>letters</i>	<i>punc.</i>	<i>shield</i>	<i>harp</i>	<i>lion</i> (S)	<i>lys</i>	<i>lions</i> (E)	<i>date</i>	<i>RCL</i>	<i>Notes</i>
<b>Gold</b>												
<i>Ten shillings</i>												
obverse	<b>A</b>	3	1	3a							–	
reverse	<b>1</b>	(1)	2	2, 1	x	x	x	x	x		–	
<i>Twenty shillings</i>												
obverse	<b>A</b>	3	Ox.	1, 2							1, 2	Oxford portrait of 1643
reverse	<b>1</b>	3	Ox.	1	x	as shilling, 4		x	as 4		1	(? and as 2s 6d, 17)
	<b>2</b>	4	1	1	x	4	4	2	3(')		2	
<b>Silver</b>												
<i>Crowns</i>												
obverses	<b>A</b>	3	2'	3a							1	modified letter C
	<b>B</b>	3	3	2, 3b							2	
	<b>C</b>	3	3	2							3ff	=B, with punctuation modified; also used for half pound, RCL 1
	<b>D</b>	6	6	2							10ff	=C, recut (?)
reverses	<b>1</b>	3	2'	1, 3a	4	C3	C1	x	1		1	modified letter C
	<b>2</b>	3	3	2, 3b	3	4?	3	2	2		2	
	<b>3</b>	3	3	2, 3b	4	4	3	2	2		3	
	<b>4</b>	3	3	1	4	H3	C2	2	2		4	
	<b>5</b>	3	3	1	4	H3	C2	2	2		4a	
	<b>6</b>	3	3	1	4	H3	C2	2	2		–	AVSPCE
	<b>7</b>	3	3	1	4	H3	C2	2	2		5	also half pound, RCL 1
	<b>8</b>	4	3	1	4	H3	C2	2	2	16-44	6	
	<b>9</b>	4	3	1	4	H3	C2	2	2	1644	7	
	<b>10</b>	4	3	1	4	H3	C2	2	2	1644	7var.	
	<b>11</b>	4	3	1	4	H3	C2	2	2	1644	8b	
	<b>12</b>	4	3	1	4	H3	C2	2	2	1644	8c	
	<b>13</b>	4	3	1	4	4	C2	2	2	1644	8a	
	<b>14</b>	4	4	1	4	4	C2	2	2	1644	8	
	<b>15</b>	4	6	1	4	H3	C2	2	2	1644	8d	French arms inverted
	<b>16</b>	5	6	1	4	H3	C2	2	2	1645	9, 11a	
	<b>17</b>	5	6	1	4	H3	C2	2	2	1645	9a, 11	
	<b>18</b>	4	6	1	4	H3	C2	2'	2	1645	10	
	<b>19</b>	6	6	1, 2	4	5	C2	2'	2	1645	12	
	<b>20</b>	6	6	1, 2	4	5	C2	2'	2	1645	12a	
	<b>21</b>	6	6	2, 1	4	5	C2	2'	2	1645	12b	
	<b>22</b>	6	6	2, 1	4	5	C2	2'	2	1645	12c	
	<b>23</b>	6	6	2	4	5	C2	2'	2	1645	12d	
	<b>24</b>	6	6	1, 2	4	5	C2	2'	2	1645	12e	
	<b>25</b>	6	6	1, 2	4	5	C2	2'	2	1645	12e-f	
	<b>26</b>	6	6	1, 2	4	5	C2	2'	2	1645	12e-f/1	
	<b>27</b>	6	6	1, 2	4	5	C2	2'	2	1645	12e-f/2	
	<b>28</b>	6	6	1, 2	4	5	C2	2'	2	1645	12f	
	<b>29</b>	6	6	1, 2	4	5	C2	2'	2	1645	12g-i/1	

		<i>p.m.</i>	<i>letters</i>	<i>punc.</i>	<i>shield</i>	<i>harp</i>	<i>lion</i> (S)	<i>lys</i>	<i>lions</i> (E)	<i>date</i>	<i>RCL</i>	<i>Notes</i>
Half crowns obverses.	30	6	6	1, 2	4	5	C2	2'	2	1645	12g-i/2	
	31	6	6	2, 1	4	5	C2	2'	2	1645	12j	
	A	Bugle	1	1, 2, 4							-	horse walking l.
	B	1	1	2, 1							2	galloping <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> l., baton
	C	2b	1	1							10-11	walking l.
	D	2	1	1							9	walking l.
	E	2a	2	3a							3-4	galloping <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> l., sword
	F	2b	2	3a							5	galloping <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> l., sword
	G	3	2	3a							8	walking l.
	H	3	3	3b							6-7	walking <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> l.
	I	3	3	3b							-	=H. legend recut
	J	3	3	3b							12-17	walking <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> l.
	K	3	Ox	2							19 etc	Oxford 'Briot' horse
	L	3	3	1							1, 1a	galloping <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> l., baton.
	M	4	3	1							22-24	over arms walking l., squat figure
N	4	3	1							18; 26ff.	walking <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> l., twisted tail	
reverses	1	Bugle	1	1, 4	(1)	x	(H1)	x	x		-	
	2	2a	1	2, 4	1	1	H1	1	1		4, 9, 11	
	3	2b	1	2, 4	1	1	H1	1	1		10	French arms inverted
	4	2b	2	2, 1, 4	2	2	H1	1	1		3, 5	
	5	3	2	3a	2	2	H1	1	1		8	
	6	3	3	3b	2	H3	H2	2	2		2, 6	p.m. recut?
	7	3	3	4, 3a	2	H3	H2	2	2		7	
	8	3	3	1, 3b	2	H3	H2?	2?	2		12	sole specimen d/struck
	9	3	3	2, 3b	3	H3	3	2	2		17	
	10	3	3	2, 3b	3	4	3	2	2		15	AVSPCE
	11	3	3	2, 3b	3	4	3	2	2		16	
	12	3	3	2, 3b	3	4	3	2	2		-	
	12a	3	3	2, 3b	3	4	3	2	2		-	
	13	3	3	1, 3b	3	4	3	2	2		18	
	14	3	3	1	4	4	3	2	2		14	
	15	3	3	1	4	4	3	2	2		-	
	16	3	3	1	4	4	3	2	2		13, 19	
	17	3	Ox	2, 1	x	x	x?	x	x		20	
	18	3	3	1	4	4	3	3	3		19a	
	19	3	3	1	4	4	3	3	3		-	
	20	3	3	1	4	4	3	3	3		-	
	21	3	3	1	4	4	3	3	3		-	inverted garniture
	22	3	3	1	5	4	4	3	3		1642	1
	28	4	3	1	5	4	4	3	3		1642	1a



	<i>p.m.</i>	<i>letters</i>	<i>punc.</i>	<i>shield</i>	<i>harp</i>	<i>lion (S)</i>	<i>lys</i>	<i>lions (E)</i>	<i>date</i>	<i>RCL</i>	<i>Notes</i>
23	3	3	1	4	4	4	3	3	1644	-	
24	4	3	1	4	4	4	3	3	1644	21 etc	
25	4	3	1	4	4	4	3	3	1644	-	
26	4	3	1	4	4	4	3	3	16-44	23	
27	4	3	1	4	4	4	3	3	1644	26	
29	4	3	1	4	4	4	3	3'	1644	25	
30	4	3	1	4	4	4	3	3'	16-44	22	
31	4	3	1	4	4	4	2?	3?	1644	24	
32	4	3	1	4	4?	4	2?	3?	1644	-	
33	4	3?	1	4	4?	4	2	2	1644	-	French arms inverted
34	4	3?	1	4	5?	4	2	2	1644	27a	
35	4	4	1	4	4	4	2	2	1644	27	
36	-	6?	1/2	-	-	-	-	-	1644	28	Exurgat type
37	5	6?	1/2	-	-	-	-	-	1644	29	Exurgat type
38	5	6?	1/1	-	-	-	-	-	1644	29a	Exurgat type
39	5	6	1	4	3	C2	2	2	1645	33	
40	5	6	1	4	5	4	2?	2	1645	32	
41	5	6	1, 2	4	5	4	2(?)	2	1645	32a	
42	5	6	2	4	5	4	2'	2	1645	32b	
43	4	6	1	4	5	C2	2?	2	1645	-	
44	4	6	2	4	5	C2	2?	2	1645	-	
45	4	6	2	4	5	C2	2?	2	1645	-	
46	4	6	2?	4	5	4	2?	2	1645	34	
47	4?	6	2	4	5	4?	2?	2	164?	-	
48	6	6	1, 2	4	5	4	2?	2	1645	30	
49	6	6	1, 2	4	5	4	2'	2	1645	31	
50	6	6	1, 2	4	5	4	2'	2	1645	-	
51	5	6	1/-	-	-	-	-	-	1645	35	Exurgat type
<i>Shillings</i>											
<i>obverses</i>											
A	3	3	1, 3b							1	
B	3	Ox	2							2-4	Oxford portrait
C	3	3	1							5ff.	
<i>reverses</i>											
1	3	3	3b	2	3	H2	2	2		1	
2	3	3	1, 3b	3	4	3	2	2		3	
3	3	3	1	3	4	3	2	2		2, 6	
4	3	Ox	1	x	(x)	(x)	x	(x)		4, 5	(see XXs., die I)
5	3	3	1	4	4	3	3	3		7a	
6	3	3	1	4	4	3	3	3		7	
7	4	3	1	4	4	4?	3	3	16-44	8	
8	4	3	1	4	4	4	3	3	1644	9	small date
9	4	3	1	4	4	4?	3	3	1644	-	
10	4	3	1	4	6	4	3	3'	1644	11	small date
11	4	3	1	4	6	4	3	3'	1644	12	
12	4	4	1	4	4	4	2	2	1644	10	(new H: C damaged)
13	4	6	1	4	6	4	2'	2	1645	14	
14	4	6	1	4	6	4	2'	2	1645	14a	
15	4	6	2	4	6	4	2'	3'	1645	13	
16	-	6	- / 2	-	-	-	-	-	1645	15	Exurgat type
<i>Sixpences</i>											
<i>obverses</i>											
A	4	3	1							2	
B	4	5	1							1	
C	4	5	1							1	= B, with 'VI' recut

		<i>p.m.</i>	<i>letters</i>	<i>punc.</i>	<i>shield</i>	<i>harp</i>	<i>lion</i> (S)	<i>lys</i>	<i>lions</i> (E)	<i>date</i>	<i>RCL</i>	<i>Notes</i>
reverses	1	4	3	1	(4)	6	4	3	s	1644	2	
	2	4	5	1	(4)	6	4	3	s	1644	1	(date 1:6:4:4:)
<i>Groat</i>												
obverse	A	(4)	5	1						1644	1	
reverse	1	(4)	5	2, 1	(4)	6	(4)	s	s		1	
<i>Threepence</i>												
obverse	A	(4)	5	1							1	
reverse	1	(4)	5	1	6	6	s	s	s	16-44	1	(date over shield)
<i>Twopences</i>												
obverse	A	(4)	5	1							1, 2	
reverses	1	(4)	5	1	4	s	s	s	s	1644	1	
	2	(4)	5	1	-	-	-	-	-	1644	2	'Rose' type
<i>Penny</i>												
obverse	A	(4)	5	1							1	
reverse	1	(4)	5	1	-	-	-	-	-	1644	1	'Rose' type

## APPENDIX 6: SCHEDULE OF DIE-COMBINATIONS AND SPECIMENS

The following list gives all die-combinations known to the writer and the specimens which have formed the basis of this study. As far as possible, the coins have been examined and duplication avoided by verification of weights and comparison with illustrations of others. Apart from the Lockett Collection, citations of specimens from older collections, which lack weights and often lack illustrations, have generally been omitted. A modern replica is also here placed on record. An asterisk before a number indicates that both sides of that specimen are illustrated; an asterisk after a number indicates illustration of its reverse only.

### GOLD COINS

#### *Ten Shillings*

##### **undated**

A1 \*1. BM E0872, 4.49g; \*2. BM 44-4-25, 2697, in silver, 9.30g.

#### *Twenty shillings*

##### **undated**

A1 \*1. BM 1954-10-2, 35 (Farquhar), 9.06g; \*2. Baldwin (Ryan 527), 9.08g.  
A2 \*1. BM 1956-10-10, 2 (Lockett 2505), 9.04g.

### SILVER COINS

#### *Ten shillings (struck from dies for crown)*

##### **undated**

C7 1. BM SSB 66-98, 59.18g.

#### *Five shillings (Crown)*

##### **undated**

A1 \*1. BM GHB 618, 30.14g; 2. BM E0933, 29.49g; 3. AM, 29.44g; 4. AM, 29.38g; 5. AM, 28.80g; 6. FM, 30.43g; 7. FM, 29.86g; 8. FM, 29.20g; 9. FM, 29.10g; 10. FM, 29.05g; 11. FM, 28.98g; 12. FM, 28.65g; 13.

- GH 289, 28.75g; 14. GC 1246, 29.88g; 15. RM H1181, 29.19g; 16. ANS, 29.23g; 17. SCM (Taunton hd), 29.90g; 18. B, 29.47g; 19. B, 29.36g; 20. B, 27.94g; 21. S, 29.12g; 22. L 2506; 23. L 3505; 24. WCC 107, 28.55g; 25. BR 1008, 29.13g; 26. BR 1009, 29.21g; 27. C 18.ii.92, 100, 29.70g; 28. GL 5.ii.92, 108, 29.80g; 29. S6, 102, 29.35g; 30. S31, 211, 29.82g; 31. S32, 443, 29.69g; 32. S50, 738, 28.88g; 33. S70, 176, 29.73g; 34. S70, 177, 29.34g; 35. S70, 178, 29.41g; 36. CNA20, 1361, 29.31g; 37. PC1, 29.39g; 38. PC, 29.13g; 39. PC3 (W 314), 29.97g; 40. PC3, 29.23g; 41. W 315.
- B2 1. BM 1915–5–7, 159, 25.76g; 2. FM, 29.75g; 3. ANS (L.2507), 28.39g; \*4. B, 29.32g; 5. WCC 108, 29.95g; 6. BR 1010, 29.56g; 7. S70, 180, 29.40g; 8. PC1, 28.55g.
- C3 1. GC 1245, 27.44g; 2. ANS, 29.54g; 3. L 3506; 4. WCC 109, 28.47g; 5. BR 1011, 25.57g; 6.\* PC3, 28.54g; 7. W 316; 8. GL 19.vi.1990, 889 (square!).
- C4 \*1. BM 1896–12–2, 91, 27.04g; 2. L 2508; 3. WCC 110, 28.19g; 4. BR 1012, 28.00g.
- C5 1. RCM, 28.37g; 2. WCC 111, 27.82g; 3.\* PC3 (S 65, 1057), 28.98g.
- C6 1.\* BM 1935–4–1, 7366, 28.52g; 2. AM, 29.42g; 3. AM, 27.78g; 4. B, 27.44g; 5. B, 27.43g; 6. S11, 261, 28.69g; 7. S16, 58, 27.74g; 8. PC1, 29.37g.
- C7 1.\* BM 1895–7–5, 8 (EW hd), 27.88g; 2. WCC 112, 28.15g; 3. PC3 (S70, 179), 29.40g; 4. PC1, 28.71g.
- 1644**
- C8 1. BM E0934, 28.68g; 2. AM, 29.22g; 3. AM, 25.74g; 4. ANS, 29.08g; 5. S, 29.32g; 6. L 2509; 7. WCC 113, 28.85g; 8. WCC 114, 28.83g; 9. BR 1032, 28.80g; 10.\* PC1 (W 319), 27.48g.
- C9 1.\* BM E0935, 27.72g; 2. ANS, 29.09g; 3. WCC 115 (L 2510), 27.08g; 4. BR 1033, 28.96g; 5. S4, 618, 28.36g; 6. S11, 262, 28.94g; 7. PC3, 27.37g; 8. W 320.
- C10 1.\* WCC 116, 28.74g.
- C11 1. AM, 26.09g; 2. FM, 26.77g; 3. WCC 119, 29.03g; 4. BR 1035, 28.34g; 5.\* PC1 (S34, 707), 28.78g; 6. W 322.
- C12 1.\* FM, 29.89g; 2. FM, 29.39g; 3. B (W 323), 28.13g; 4. WCC 120, 29.60g; 5. PC3, 28.71g.
- C13 1. BM E0937, 29.85g; 2. AM, 28.28g; 3. GH 292, 28.44g; 4.\* GC 1244, 29.24g; 5. RAMM (S 82, 130); 6. WCC 118, 27.95; 7. BR 1034, 28.41g; 8. PC3, 28.40g.
- C14 1. BM E0936, 27.31g; 2. WCC 117, 29.09g; 3. S46, 638, 28.93g; 4. GL 4.xi.92, 514 (S62, 187); 5.\* PC3, 28.64g; 6. RAMM (W 321).
- C15 1.\* S6, 106 (L 4573), 28.19g; 2. RAMM (W 324).
- 1645**
- C16 1. BM 1935–4–1, 7367, 27.38g; 2. AM, 28.50g; 3. GH 293, 28.84g; 4. B, 29.00g; 5. B (L 2511), 27.39g; 6. BR 1037, 26.65g; 7.\* PC3 (WCC 121), 28.98g.
- C17 1. BM SSB 70–54, 28.55g; 2. WCC 122, 26.32g; 3. BR 1036, 25.69g.
- D16 1. BM 1935–4–1, 7368, 28.61g; 2. GH 294, 29.28g; 3. NMW 83.30H/8 (BR 1040), 28.95g; 4. B, 28.00g; 5. WCC 125, 27.04g; 6. GL 24.iii.1987, 449, 28.61g.
- D17 1.\* BM 1896–12–2, 92, 28.55g; 2. BM E0940, 28.47g; 3. FM, 29.29g; 4. FM, 28.79g; 5. ANS (L 2513), 29.04g; 6. WCC 124, 27.92g; 7. BR 1038, 28.08g; 8. PC1, 28.51g; 9. PC3, 28.94g; 10. RAMM (W 325).
- D18 1. BM 54–6–21, 61, 29.04g; 2.\* GH 295, 28.34g; 3. ANS, 28.13g; 4. RAMM (L2512); 5. BR 1039, 29.00g; 6. PC1, 29.16g; 7. PC3 (WCC 123), 28.74g.

- D19 1. AM, 28.03g; \*2. L 2514; 3. WCC 126, 28.51g.
- D20 1. ANS, 29.47g; 2. BR 1041, 29.52g; 3. \* PC3 (WCC 127), 28.62g; 4. CNA20, 1362, 28.53g.
- D21 1. BM E0938, 28.43g; 2. B, 28.19g; 3. WCC 128, 27.02g; 4. BR 1042, 28.80g; 5. S11, 263, 29.28g; 6. \* PC1, 27.99g.
- D22 1. \* AM, 27.64g; 2. B, 29.04g; 3. L 3508; 4. WCC 129, 29.06g; 5. BR 1043, 26.72g; 6. S54, 609, 29.30g; 7. PC3, 28.93g; 8. W 326; 9. W 327; 10. RAMM (Ryan 1179).
- D23 1. B, 28.56g; 2. WCC 130, 30.03g; 3. S50, 740, 29.77g; 4. \* PC3, 28.97g; 5. RAMM (W 328).
- D24 1. \* BM 1935-4-1, 7369, 28.72g; 2. ANS, 29.00g; 3. WCC 131, 28.83g; 4. SY 23.iii.86, 164, 29.15g.
- D25 1. BM 1938-7-1, 1, 28.93g; 2. RM (H1182), 27.52g; 3. \* BR 1044, 28.29g; 4. S32, 444, 27.76g.
- D26 1. \* AM, 29.16g; 2. WCC 132, 28.28g; 3. GL 9.ix.92, 38; 4. PC3, 28.74g.
- D27 1. \* GH 296, 29.25g; 2. B, 28.99g; 3. WCC 133, 28.15g; 4. S6, 107, 29.05g.
- D28 1. \* AM, 28.80g.
- D29 1. \* GC 1247, 28.42g; 2. B, 29.06g; 3. L 4575; 4. WCC 134, 29.27g; 5. PC3, 28.89g.
- D30 1. AM, 28.24g; 2. AM, 27.35g; 3. FM, 28.23g; 4. B, 28.93g; 5. BR 1045, 28.29g; \*6. PC3 (WCC 135), 29.42g.
- D31 1. BM E0939, 29.37g; 2. FM, 28.39g; 3. S, 28.45g; 4. \* PC3 (WCC 136), 28.55g; 5. CNA20, 1363, 29.17g.

*Two shillings and sixpence (Half crown)*

**undated**

- A1 \*1. BM E1039, 13.97g; 2. BR 1021, 13.48g; 3. PC, 14.10g; 4. PC, 15.53g; 5. PC, 15.22g (No. 5 not verified).
- B6 1. BR 1015 (Bovey hd), 14.62g; \*2. PC2, 14.65g.
- C2 \*1. BM 54-6-21, 65, 13.15g; 2. B, 14.33g.
- C3 \*1. BM 1935-4-1, 7450, 13.52g (EW?); 2. B, 14.44g; 3. BR 1020 (L 2518), 14.24g; \*4. PC1, 13.54g.
- D2 \*1. BM 1895-7-5, 46 (EW), 16.29g; 2. BM E1040, 15.05g; 3. PC2 (L 3510), 14.00g.
- E2 \*1. BM 41-7-30, 395, 14.76g; 2. L 4576.
- E4 \*1. BM E1042, 14.63g; 2. BR 1016 (L 2516), 14.25g; 3. GL 25, iv, 1955, 122 (Farquhar).
- F4 \*1. BM 1895-7-5, 53 (EW), 14.63g; 2. \*GH 289, 14.17g.
- G5 \*1. BM 1895-7-5, 49 (EW), 14.90g; 2. BM 1895-7-5, 55 (EW), 15.22g; 3. PC1 (L 2517), 14.52g; 4. SO 20.xi.1933, 500 (Morrieson).
- G7 \*1. PC (L 3509, BR 1019), 14.89g.
- H6 \*1. NMW 84.34H/2, 14.64g; 2. PC2, 14.26g; 3. BR 1017 (L 2519), 14.31g; 4. Farquhar 124.
- H7 1. BM 1935-4-1, 7451, 14.68g; \*2. BM E1041, 14.58g; 3. AM, 13.69g; 4. B, 14.90g; 5. B, 14.80g; 6. B, 14.68g; 7. B, 13.95g; 8. L 4218; 9. BR 1018, 14.43g; 10. PC1, 14.48g.

- J7 \*1. B, 15.24g.
- J8 \*1. L 4577.
- J9 \*1. BM 1935-4-1, 7446 (EW?), 14.66g; 2. SO 4.iv.1927, 412 (Huth, 'EW' = Brettell 373).
- J10 \*1. BM 1895-7-5, 54 (EW), 13.60g.
- J11 \*1. PC1, 13.68g; 2. PC2, 13.90g.
- J12 \*1. B, 14.50g; 2. BR 1028 (L 3511), 14.81g.
- J13 \*1. GL 28.x.1970, 374 (Brettell).
- J14 1. BM 1895-7-5, 51 (EW), 14.88g; 2. BM 1895-7-5, 52 (EW), 13.56g; 3. BM 1935-4-1, 7447 (EW), 14.73g; \*4. AM (EW), 13.21g; 5. B, 14.37g; 6. B, 14.33g (EW?); 7. B, 14.02g (EW?); 8. B, 13.87g; 9. S, 13.81g; 10. S, 13.67g; 11. BR 1027, 14.38g; 12. PC1, 14.59g; 13. PC2, 14.26g; 14. GL 11.iii.92, 398; 15. PC (see McCammon, *Anglo-Norman Isles*, p. 121, fig. 94), 12.61g; 16. W 317; 17. W 318.
- J15 1. B (EW?), 14.47g; 2. B, 13.99g; \*3. GL 28.x.1970, 372 (Brettell).
- J16 \*1. BM 1896-12-2, 93, 14.80g; 2. NMW 77.22H/2, 13.91g; 3. B, 14.56g; 4. S6, 103 (L 4578), 13.65g; 5. Congleton hoard 1992, 15.05g.
- J17 \*1. PC1 (BR 1029), 14.64g.
- K11 \*1. B, 13.83g.
- K12a \*1. PC1, 14.47g; 2. L 3512.
- K16 \*1. PC1, 13.85g; 2. L 4219.
- K17 \*1. BM 1895-7-5, 45 (EW), 14.87g; 2. PC1 (BR 1031), 14.32g.
- K18 \*1. BM 1895-7-5, 50 (EW), 14.98g; 2. BM 1935-4-1, 7448 (EW?), 14.43g; 3. B (EW?), 13.94g; 4. BR 1029a, 14.82g.
- K19 \*1. BM 1935-4-1, 7449, 14.54g; 2. GL 11.v.1954, 487 (Parsons).
- K20 \*1. AM, 14.08g.
- K21 1. ANS, 14.62g; 2. B (L 3513), 14.97g; 3. PC1, 14.55g; \*4. PC2 (Brettell 375), 13.80g; 5. BR 1030, 14.74g.
- N13 \*1. PC2 (L 4220), 13.73g.

# '1642'

- L22 1. BM 44-5-14, 5, 14.69g; 2. AM, 13.35g; 3. ANS (L 2515), 14.96g; \*4. PC2 (Bridgewater Ho. 292), 14.90g; 5. BR 1013, 13.91g; 6. BR 1013a, 14.52g; 7. GL 12.vi.63, 248.
- L28 1. BM 1935-4-1, 7441, 14.36g; \*2. NMW 80.32H/2 (BR 1014), 14.11g; 3. FM, 14.83g.

# 1644

- K23 \*1. BM 1896-12-2, 94, 14.76g; 2. FM, 14.83g.
- K24 1. B, 12.85g; 2. BR 1049, 13.55g.
- K25 1. BR 1050, 14.05g; 2. PC1, 14.06g (die axis differs).
- K29 1. BM 1898-3-1, 48, 14.19g; 2. BM SSB 70-70, 13.79g; 3. \* NMW 83.30H/9 (BR 1048), 14.67g; 4. ANS (L 2520 part: 'Crediton find' =EW?), 13.94g; 5. B, 14.46g (Recoinage piercing, 1696).

- K30 1. Congleton hoard 1992, 13.67g.
- K31 1. PC2, 13.80g.
- L24 1. BM E1043, 14.51g.
- L25 1.\* BR 1046, 14.22g.
- M25 \*1. PC2 (S38, 276), 14.30g.
- M26 \*1. BM E1044, 14.39g.
- M30 1. BM 1935-4-1, 7442, 14.23g; 2. BR 1047, 14.29g; 3. S76, 80 (L 2521), 13.50g; 4.\* PC, 13.82g.
- M31 1.\* GL 25.iv. 1955, 126 (Farquhar).
- N24 1. FM, 14.53g; \*2. NMW 84.67H/2, 14.14g; 3. RM (H 1184), 13.69g.
- N27 1.\* L 3515; 2. SO 4.iv.1927, 413 (Huth).
- N32 1. ANS, 14.25g; 2. BR 1051, 14.40g; 3.\* S6, 108, 14.32g.
- N33 1.\* BR 1052, 13.88g.
- N34 \*1. BM 1895-7-5, 47 (EW), 14.13g.
- N35 1. BM SSB 70-56, 14.89g; PC1, 14.19g; 3.\* PC2 (L 2522), 14.10g.
- N36 1.\* Ryan 1196.
- N37 1.\* BM E1045, 14.15g; 2. RM (H 1183), 12.08g (clipped); 3. ANS (L 2523), 13.93g.
- N38 1. BM 1935-4-1, 7443, 11.88g (clipped); 2. FM, 13.50g; 3.\* PC2 (BR 1053), 14.04g; 4. GL 28.x.1970, 378 (Brettell).
- 1645**
- N39 1.\* BM 54-6-21, 64, 14.75g; 2. AM, 14.74g;
- N40 1.\* BR 1059 (L 2526), 15.05g; 2. SO 22.i.1914, 140 (C-Clark); 3. SO 12.iii.1930, 406 (Wheeler).
- N41 \*1. BM 1935-4-1, 7444, 14.16g.
- N42 1. BM 1915-5-7, 164, 14.63g; 2. RM (H 1185), 13.91g; \*3. PC2, 13.48g; 4. GL 28.x.1970, 380 (Brettell).
- N43 1. B, 14.83g; 2. B, 14.58g; 3. B, 14.33g; \*4. PC2, 14.65g.
- N44 1.\* BR 1056 (L 2524), 14.32g.
- N45 1. B, 13.60g; 2.\* L 3516.
- N46 1.\* BM 1935-4-1, 7445, 14.71g.
- N47 \*1. B, 14.83g.
- L48 \*1. PC2 (Bridgewater Ho. 294), 14.34g.
- N49 1. BM E1046, 14.21g; 2. GH 297, 14.32g; 3. BR 1057 (L 2525), 15.17g; 4.\* PC2, 14.06g; 5. SO 12.iii.1930, 405 (Wheeler).
- N50 1.\* PC1 (BR 1058), 12.80g.
- N51 \*1. PC2 (L 2527, BR 1060), 14.59g.



*Shilling***undated**

- A1 \*1. BM 39-3-19, 4, 6.08g; 2. BR 1022 (L 2528), 5.24g.
- B2 1. BM 1935-4-1, 7560, 5.73g; \*2. GH 291, 5.22g; 3. BR 1023, 6.30g.
- B3 \*1. BM 1935-4-1, 7561, 5.66g.
- B4 \*1. BR 1024 (L 2529), 5.81g.
- C3 1. BM GHB 620, 5.98g; \*2. FM, 5.99g.
- C4 \*1. BM 1895-7-5, 65 (EW), 6.14g; 2. BR 1025, 5.74g.
- C5 \*1. BM 1895-7-5, 66 (EW), 5.65g; 2. AM, 5.44g; 3. PC1, 4.85g (clipped).
- C6 \*1. BR 1026, 5.77g; 2. L2530.

**1644**

- C7 \*1. BM E1221, 5.80g; 2. ANS, 5.70g; 3. L 4580; 4. BR 1061, 5.89g; 5. PC1, 5.56g.
- C8 1.\* BM E1220, 5.84g.
- C9 1.\* BR 1063, 5.03g; 2. S11, 264, 5.75g.
- C10 1.\* BM E1219, 5.53g; 2. AM, 5.23g; 3. FM, 5.73g; 4. FM, 4.67g; 5. GH 298, 5.26g; 6. BR 1064, 5.67g.
- C11 1.\* BM 1895-7-5, 63 (EW), 5.70g; 2. BM 1926-9-4, 16 (Stedham hd), 4.19g (clipped); 3. L 2531; 4. Stack's NY 22.x.81, 518 ('ex Lockett'), 5.46g.
- C12 1. BM 1895-7-5, 62 (EW), 5.65g; 2.\* BM E1218, 5.88g; 3. AM, 5.41g; 4. RM (H 1186), 5.13g; 5. RAMM (L 3517); 6. ANS, 5.44g; 7. B, 5.65g; 8. BR 1062, 5.48g; 9. PC1, 5.52g.

**1645**

- C13 1.\* AM, 5.37g; 2. GH 299, 5.00g; 3. L 4221; 4. BR 1065, 5.67g.
- C14 1. BM 1915-5-7, 171, 5.42g; 2. BM E1222, 5.51g; 3. FM, 5.59g; 4. NMW 83.30H/10 (BR 1066), 5.96g; \*5. PC1, 5.55g; 6. GL 28.x.1970, 383 (Brettell).
- C15 1.\* BM 43-6-20, 71, 5.19g.
- C16 \*1. BM E1223, 5.44g; 2. GH 300, 5.65g; 3. RM (H 1187), 5.47g; 4. ANS (L 2532), 4.89g; 5. BR 1067, 5.61g.

*Sixpence***1644**

- A1 1. BM 1935-4-1, 7626, 2.59g; \*2. FM, 2.85g; 3. GH 301, 2.61g; 4. L 2533; 5. BR 1070, 2.82g; 6. PC1, 2.70g.
- B2 \*1. FM, 2.73g; 2. GH 302, 2.52g; 3. BR 1068, 2.14g.
- C2 \*1. BM GHB 621 (EW), 2.92g; 2. BM E1293, 2.88g; 3. AM, 2.70g; 4. RM (H 1188), 2.83g; 5. ANS, 2.86g; 6. B, 2.62g; 7. B, 2.32g (pierced); 8. L 2534; 9. BR 1069, 2.91g; 10. PC1, 2.92g.

*Fourpence (Groat)***1644**

- A1 1. BM 1935-4-1, 7634, 1.63g; 2. BM GHB 622, 1.61g; 3. BM ER 248, 1.75g; 4. BM, 1.64g; 5. AM, 1.19g;

6. FM, 1.78g; 7. FM, 1.64g; 8. FM, 1.63g; 9. FM, 1.54g; \*10. GH 303, 1.56g; 11. GC 1307, 1.68g; 12. NMW 77.22H/3, 1.76g; 13. NMW 77.22H/4, 1.76g; 14. RM (H 1189), 1.64g; 15. RAMM; 16. ANS 1.68g; 17. B, 1.92g; 18. B, 1.75g; 19. B, 1.71g; 20. B, 1.65g; 21. B, 1.64g; 22. B, 1.60g; 23. B, 1.60g; 24. B, 1.49g; 25. B, 1.22g; 26. BR 1071, 1.62g; 27. S70, 187, 1.70g; 28. PC1, 1.73g; 29. PC1, 1.64g.

### *Threepence*

#### **1644**

A1 1. BM GHB 623, 1.25g; 2. BM 1954-10-2, 36, 1.22g; 3. BM ER 249, 1.08g; 4. AM, 1.07g; 5. FM, 1.20g; 6. FM, 1.34g; 7. GH 304, 1.26g; 8. GH 305, 1.08g (pierced); 9. NMW 82.61H, 1.17g; 10. RM (H 1190), 1.08g; 11. RAMM; 12. ANS, 1.05g; 13. B, 1.29g; 14. B, 1.18g; 15. B, 1.14g; 16. B, 1.03g; \*17. S, 1.30g; 18. S, 1.19g; 19. S, 1.01g; 20. S, 0.95g; 21. BR 1072, 1.16g; 22. PC1, 1.06g.

### *Twopence*

#### **1644**

A1 \*1. BM 1896-12-2, 95, 0.88g; 2. BM ER 246, 0.78g (pierced); 3. RAMM; 4. B, 0.73g; 5. L 2536; 6. BR 1073, 0.86g; 7. PC1, 0.76g.

A2 \*1. BM GHB 624, 1.18g; 2. AM, 0.75g; 3. RM (H 1191), 0.79g; 4. RAMM; 5. ANS, 0.80g; 6. B, 0.83g; 7. S, 0.81g; 8. L 2537; 9. BR 1074, 0.79g; 10. PC1, 0.77g.

### *Penny*

#### **1644**

A1 \*1. BM GHB 625, 0.45g; 2. NMW 79.57H/4, 0.44g; 3. RAMM; 4. ANS, 0.44g; 5. B, 0.47g; 6. S, 0.50g; 7. BR 1075 (L 2538), 0.51g.

### REPLICA

#### *Crown*

#### **'1645'**

R1 Replica in sterling silver by David Holland, Bigbury Mint, Devon, for the Royal Albert Memorial Museum, Exeter, 1992. Types as Crowns D19-31, with mint symbol and engraver's monogram (dh) beneath horse and, on rev., in place of privy mark and below shield, left. Hallmark for London 1992 beneath horse on obv. The example illustrated (**pl. 21, R**), in private hands, weighs 27.36g. These replicas were struck on a hydraulic press, and required a pressure of 150 tons to produce using a single striking operation.

### KEY TO SCHEDULE

Museum collections:	BM:	British Museum
	AM:	Ashmolean Museum, Oxford
	FM:	Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge
	GH:	Hunterian Museum, Glasgow (Hunter coll.)
	GC:	Hunterian Museum, Glasgow (Coats coll.)
	NMW:	National Museum of Wales
	RM:	Royal Mint (H = Hocking, <i>Catalogue</i> )
	ANS:	American Numismatic Society
	RAMM:	Royal Albert Memorial Museum, Exeter
	RCM:	Royal Cornwall Museum, Truro
	SCM:	Somerset County Museum, Taunton

London dealers and sales	B:	Baldwin	C:	Christie's
	S:	Spink	GL:	Glendining's
	SO:	Sotheby	SY:	Seaby

Collections	BR:	Brooker ( <i>SCBI</i> 33)
	L:	Lockett (lot numbers)
	PC1-3:	private collections
	PC:	other coins in private hands
	W:	Willis, GL 5.vi.1991
	WCC:	'West Country Collector', GL 8.xi.1978

Hoard      EW: East Worlington, Devon

## APPENDIX 7: FINDS OF TRURO AND EXETER COINS

### *A: With termini pre-1650*

- D18<sup>60</sup>    MARLBOROUGH, Wilts, 1901. 2+ AU, 300+ AR, silver spoons. Latest: Tower, Triangle-in-circle. 'Exeter' present.
- E19     TAUNTON, Som., 1980. 275 AR, £14 8s. 0d. Latest: Tower (P) 1s (11). Truro: crown **A1** (1).
- F5       BUCKFASTLEIGH, Devon, 1932. 36 AR, £2 2s. 9d. Latest: Tower Triangle-in-circle 2s 6d (1). 1s (4)/ Exeter. Exeter: 2s 6d 1644 (1).
- F10     IDSWORTH, Hants., 1861. 240 AR, £16 1s. 0d. Latest: ? / Exeter. Exeter: 1s 1644 (1).
- J2       EAST WORLINGTON, Devon, 1895. 5188 AR, £242. 18s 10<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d., in three pots. Latest: Tower Sceptre (?) 1s (4). Truro and Exeter: 5s (1); 2s 6d (43); 1s (7); 6d (1). *See Appendix 8.*

### *B: Uncertain termini, 1642 or later*

- K8       BOVEY (near), Devon. A Truro half crown (**B6**, no. 1) found in a hoard: Sotheby 30.vi.1909, 937 (Rashleigh).
- K10     CHURCH HANDBOROUGH, Oxon., c.1930. 4+ AR, including an undated Exeter half crown.
- ST. AUSTELL (near), Cornwall. A Truro half crown (**C2**, **C3**, or **D2**). Sotheby 30.vi.1909, 941 part (Rashleigh). Single find or from a hoard?

### *C: Termini post-1650*

- L3       LAUGHTON, Sussex, 1959. 524 AR, £63 1s. 0d, pot hoard. Latest: Tower 2s 6d 1656 (5). Exeter: 2s 6d undated (1).
- L4       STAINTON-BY-LANGWORTH, Lincs., 1962. 660 AR, £34 18s 6d. Latest: Tower 2s 6d 1656 (1). Exeter: 2s 6d undated (1).
- STEDHAM, Sussex, 1926. 414 AR, £17 9s 0d. Latest: Charles II, 3rd hammered issue 1s (9), 6d (1). Exeter: 1s 1644, **C11** (1), in BM. *NC* 1927, 283-5 (does not mention).
- CONGLETON (Priesty Field), Cheshire, 1992. 3499 AR, £172 8s. 0d, in four pots. Latest: Charles II, milled 2s 6d 1670 (3). Exeter: 2s 6d undated, **J16** (1); 2s 6d 1644, **K30** (1). Unpublished.

<sup>60</sup> References are to the Inventory of hoards in E. Besly, (1987), pp. 76-118. *English Civil War Coin Hoards*, B.M. Occasional paper 51

## APPENDIX 8: THE EAST WORLINGTON HOARD

The hoard was found at Thorndon Farm, East Worlington, near Chumleigh, Devon, in July 1895, and consisted of 5188 silver coins contained in three pots of local manufacture. It was examined as Treasure Trove at the British Museum, which acquired 151 specimens, and published by H.A. Grueber in 1897.<sup>61</sup> The compositions of the individual potfuls cannot be known, since it is clear that they were mixed before the hoard was examined in detail. The hoard is the largest Civil War deposit for which reasonable details are known, and has likewise produced one of the biggest groups of royalist issues on record. These are all of Truro and Exeter, in summary, according to Grueber: crown, undated (1); half crowns, undated (42), 1644 (1); shillings, undated (4), 1644 (2), 1645 (1); sixpence, 1644 (1); total, 52. Nineteen of these were acquired by the British Museum, of which three were subsequently (March, 1921) sold as duplicates.

In the course of this study, the following twenty seven coins were examined which may certainly, or with a high degree of probability, be ascribed to the hoard (see Schedule, Appendix 6):

Crown:	Exeter, <b>C7</b>
Half crowns:	Truro, <b>C3, D2, F4, G5</b> (2) Exeter, undated, <b>J9(2), J10, J14</b> (6), <b>J15, K17, K18</b> (3) Exeter, 1644, <b>K29, N34</b>
Shillings:	Exeter, undated, <b>C4, C5</b> Exeter, 1644, <b>C11, C12</b>
Sixpence:	Exeter, 1644, <b>B2</b> <sup>62</sup>

Of the coins unaccounted for, twenty three are half crowns, undated, with 'rose, oval shield'. Many of these are likely to be found amongst the frequently-encountered **J14** (see Schedule), an uncirculated batch of which seems to have found its way into the hoard.<sup>63</sup> The few half crowns attributable to Truro have all been found and have likewise seen little circulation. The apparent absence of **H7** may be noted, though it is the commonest of the Truro half crowns today. Where Grueber listed one 1644 half crown (**N34**), it is likely that the specimen of **K29** sold as Lockett 2520 (part) 'Credition find' is also a 'stray' from East Worlington since it is in fresh condition, whereas the Credition hoard, found the following year (1896) was not buried until 1683 at earliest and was not reported to contain any Exeter issues.<sup>64</sup> One shilling with a 'square garnished shield' can from its description only be a specimen of **A1**. This is likely therefore to be the Lockett 2528/Brooker 1022 specimen.<sup>65</sup>

Grueber dated the East Worlington hoard to 1646 on the strength of four Tower shillings privy-marked Sceptre, and associated it with the events of February–March of that year in Devon. If the Sceptre shillings are rightly identified, the hoard must be later, since the Sun mark was not pyxed until 15 February 1646 *Old Style* (i.e., 1647). An association with the events of 1648 is therefore not impossible. If the identification is not right (and the writer has elsewhere encountered poorly-struck specimens with privy-mark Anchor (upright) misidentified as Sceptre) the hoard could have ended with p.m. Sun, in reasonable strength, and a date for its final burial around the end of the 'first' Civil War would be feasible.<sup>66</sup>

## APPENDIX 9: A NOTE ON OUTPUT

Any attempt to estimate the output of Vyvyan's mint is at best an educated guess, since there are so many gaps and uncertainties in the record. From the contemporary sources, Truro produced at least £3,000 (Hopton, which could cover the entire operation), perhaps as much as £4,000, if Hopton's figure covers only the plate gathered in April 1643. Similarly, Exeter's output before April 1644 is likely to have lain around £2,930 or £4,090, i.e., the lowest and highest figures from Table 2, plus the City's £200 of January 1644, it being assumed that either none, or all, of the unpaid plate in book A was coined.

A crude estimate may be attempted on the basis of the surviving coins. The face value of the coins listed in Appendix 6 is £84-10-08d, broken down as follows: Truro (I/II): £16-04-06d; Exeter, undated (III): £19-09-00d;

<sup>61</sup> H.A. Grueber, 'A find of coins at East Worlington', *NC* 3rd ser. 17 (1897), 145–58.

<sup>62</sup> The BM acquired the EW sixpence, and this must be Grueber *Handbook* 621, though it has no ticket indicating its provenance. Of two other Exeter sixpences in the BM, one is too worn to be EW, the other was acquired in 1935.

<sup>63</sup> In payment(s) for victuals? Cf. the Breckenbrough, N. Yorks, hoard of 1985 (Inventory (note 60), E2).

<sup>64</sup> H.A. Grueber, 'A find of coins at Credition, N. Devon', *NC* 3rd ser. 17 (1897), 159–72.

<sup>65</sup> This shilling, a Truro half crown (reacquired in 1935 as no. 7450 of the Clark-Thornhill bequest?) and the 1645 shilling were sold by the BM in 1921.

<sup>66</sup> The coins retained by the BM include two Sun half crowns (both fresh coins, with the earlier horseman, N.2213) and one Sun shilling, but no Sceptre shilling.

Exeter, 1644 (IV): £21-03-08d; Exeter, 1645 (V): £27-13-06d. This sample, though a very good one, is inevitably incomplete, and potentially subject to many distortions, for instance a high survival rate for crowns, notably those of 1645 (though this might apply to all phases), and the influence of the East Worlington hoard on the survival of group III half crowns, not to mention any lingering uncertainties over the precise division between Truro and Exeter issues. Nevertheless, taking these figures to represent the relative original outputs, and working from the two phases for which some measure is known, we obtain the following results.

i. If Truro's output (I/II) is arbitrarily placed mid-range at £3,500, the multiplier obtained is about 216 times the value of the survivors. Applying this to the other phases gives: III – £4,196; IV (1644) – £4,570; V (1645) – £5,970; or a total Exeter output of £14,736.

ii. The low estimate for phase III (£2,930) gives a multiplier of 151, and outputs: I/II – £2,444; IV – £3,191; V – £4,169; or a total Exeter output of £10,290.

iii. The high estimate for phase III (£4,090) gives a multiplier of 210, and outputs: I/II – £3,412; IV – £4,454; V – £5,820; or a total Exeter output of £14,364.

The second of these guesses gives an improbably low figure for Truro; the other two are reasonably consistent, so an output from Truro of around £3,500 is feasible. A figure around £14,500 from Exeter must be regarded as a maximum, since the survival of the 1645 issues, especially the late crowns, will have been affected by the limitation of their circulation because of the last siege, and perhaps their retention as souvenirs of it (Oxford half crowns dated 1646 likewise seem to be commoner than might be expected from their short period of issue). Any abatement of the 1645 figure is pure guesswork – halving it to around £3,000 gives a total for Exeter of around £11,500; three-quarters (£4,500) gives £13,000. Figures of this order seem reasonable, and represent the conversion of over 50,000 ounces of plate at Exeter in two and a half years.

## KEY TO THE PLATES

### PLATE 9. Comparative specimens

1. Tower half crown, p.m. Rose, 1631–2 *Private collection*
2. Tower half crown, p.m. Crown, 1635–6/7 *National Museum of Wales*
3. Scots Rebellion medal by Thomas Simon (1639) *N.M.W.*
4. Oxford Triple Unite, 1643 *B.M.*
5. Oxford shilling, 1643 *B.M.*
6. Oxford half crown, 1643 *B.M.*
7. Tower half crown, p.m. Star, 1640–1 *Private collection*

PLATE 10. Truro: half crowns, A1–F4.

PLATE 11. Truro: double crown, A1; half crowns, G5–17; crown, A1; shilling, A1.

PLATE 12. Exeter: crown, B2; half crowns, J8–16.

PLATE 13. Exeter: crowns, C3–7; half crowns, J17–K16.

PLATE 14. Exeter: half crowns, K17–21; shillings, B2–C4.

PLATE 15. Exeter: shillings, C5–6; unites, A1–2; half crowns, L22, L28 ('1642'); N13, K23 (1644).

PLATE 16. Exeter, 1644: crowns, revs. 8–12; half crowns, M, N, 24–27.

PLATE 17. Exeter, 1644: half crowns, revs. 29–32; shillings, C7–12; sixpences; groat; threepence.

PLATE 18. Exeter, 1644: half groats; penny; crowns, revs. 13–15; half crowns, N, 34–38.

PLATE 19. Exeter, 1645: crowns, revs. 16–18; half crowns, N, 39–47; shillings, C, 13–15.

PLATE 20. Exeter, 1645: crowns, D19–29.

PLATE 21. Exeter, 1645: crowns, D30–31; half crowns, L48, N, 49–51; shilling, C16; replica crown.



1



2



3



4



5



6



7







A1



B6



C2



C3 (1)



C3 (4)



D2



E2



E4



F4 (1)



F4 (2)





A1 (1)



A1 (2)



G5



G7



A1



H6



H7



I7



A1





J8



B2



J9



J10



J11



J12



J13



J14



J15



J16





3



C4



5



6



7



J17



K11



K12a



K16



BESLY: TRURO AND EXETER MINTS (5)





K17



K18



K19



K20



K21



B2



B3



B4



C3



C4









8



9



10



11



12



N24



M25



25



27



M26





29



30



31



32



C7



8



9



10



11



12



A1



B2



C2



A1



A1





A1



A2



A1



13



14



15



33



N34



35



36



37



38



16



17



39



40



N41



N42



44



18



N43



45



46



N47



13



C14



15





D19



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D30



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L48



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N51



C16



R

